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AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION  
of the

Ā D Ā B - I - 'Ā L A M G Ī R Ī

THE PERIOD BEFORE THE WAR OF SUCCESSION

being

The Letters of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur  
to

Muḥammad Shihābu'd-dīn Shāh Jahān  
Sāhib-i-Qirān-i-Sānī  
Emperor of Hindūstān

by

Vincent John Adams Flynn

1974

A Thesis submitted to the Australian  
National University in partial  
satisfaction of its requirements for  
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

### Acknowledgements and Declaration

Coming from the practice of law to the study of India, I owe particular gratitude to two men. Professor A.L. Basham has encouraged my efforts, and tolerated my shortcomings; Dr S.A.A. Rizvi has taught me all I know of the Persian language, and has guided my study and understanding of Islam. Alone, I could not have hoped to begin this work.

Yet the entire thesis is my own. I have been saved from many mistakes; but for those which remain, the whole responsibility is mine.

*V. J. A. Flynn*  
*Christmas Eve. 1974*



## CONSPECTUS OF THE WORK

This thesis, the first part of a projected English translation of the whole of the *Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī*, contains the letters written by Prince Aurangzīb to his father Shāh Jahān between the middle of 1650, when he was viceroy of Multān, and the beginning of 1656, when he began his campaign against Golconda. The translation is preceded by a brief introduction sketching the early life and character of Aurangzīb, the style in which the letters are written and the reason for its adoption, and a short view of the prevailing and contradictory opinions upon Aurangzīb. His religious policy when Emperor is briefly referred to; but with the conclusion that the *Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī* offers no direct evidence that he had framed any part of it in his mind while yet Prince. Indeed, no sign of any particular Islamic piety can be seen in the letters, and the structure of the state set up by Akbar seems to enjoy Aurangzīb's entire support. Its external incidents are accepted by Aurangzīb with equanimity, and apparent enthusiasm; even those which some modern orthodox claim to be abhorrent to Islām.

The value of the letters lies in two main fields; illustration and explanation of narrative history, and elucidation of details of administration and management of the Mughul empire, and the careers and character of its officers. The great but wasted effort to recapture Qandahār in 1652; the embellishment of the palace at Shāhjahanābād, and the repair and maintenance of the "luminous tomb" of Mumtāz Maḥal at Āgra; the entire reconstruction of the assessment of the revenue of the Mughul Deccan; the enticement of Mīr Jumla to leave his hazardous hopes of further greatness in Golconda, and perhaps independent dominion, and accept the Mughul service; these are the most interesting subjects of the letters. But almost no letter is without other lesser details, and these, too, can be of the first importance.

Each letter is introduced by a note, setting out the theme, and commenting generally. Full notes are provided to the translation, containing textual criticism, comments

or explanations relating to particular words, topographical elucidations, biographical material upon the men mentioned, references to contemporary documents wherever possible, and remarks upon the importance of the leading events.

Because the notes are so copious, the introduction is brief and general. The bibliography is select, confined only to books actually consulted. Those of consequence in the understanding of the leading schools of thought upon Aurangzīb have been discussed in the introduction.

There is a full table of contents; a note on chronology; and an annotated table of the dates on which the letters were written.

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## NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The scheme adopted adheres closely to that used by Steingass in his Dictionary:

ا a	ج j	د d	س s	ط t	ك k	و w (w when silent after ج)
ب b	چ ch	ز z	ش sh	ظ z	گ g	ه h (a when a silent final letter)
پ p	ح h	ر r	ص s	ع ' gh	م m	ي y
ت t	خ kh	ز z	ض z	غ gh	ن n	ی ī
ث s		ژ zh		ف f		
				ق q		

(The izāfat is represented by -i-)

Many Hindī words and names occur, in a Persian dress. The Nāgarī alphabet is thus represented:

अ a	इ ri	क k	च ch	ट t	ठ t	प p	य y	श s
आ ā	ए e	ख kh	छ chh	ठ th	थ th	फ ph	र r	ष sh
इ i	ऐ ai	ग g	ज j	ड d	ढ d	ब b	ल l	स s
ई ī	ओ o	घ gh	झ jh	ढ dh	ध dh	भ bh	व v	ह h
उ u	औ au	ण n	ञ ñ	ण n	न n	म m		
ऊ ū								

Urdū letters, used to reproduce Hindī sounds not found in the Persian alphabet:

ख kh	छ chh	त t	द d	थ th	फ ph	न n
घ gh	झ jh	ठ th	ड dh	ढ dh	भ bh	

The Hindī dipthong in such words as Bā'ī has been indicated by an apostrophe.

The system of Platt's has been followed for Indian words, except that چ is not c but ch, and چ is not ch but chh; and غ is not g but gh.

It has proved impossible to distinguish between an inverted comma for 'ain, and an apostrophe for hamza; the type-writers required use the same mark ' for both. Should this thesis be printed in any form, this deficiency would be remedied.



Steingass preserves the copula -o- in idiomatic phrases such as āb-o-hawā. With the exception of sar-o-pā, which is almost a single word, this course has not been followed, as it is not always possible to distinguish with certainty between popular compounds (such as khwush o khurram) and words brought together adventitiously.

Single Persian and Indian words in the text and the notes have been underlined. Phrases (for the most part quoted from the original text) have not. Italics, rather than an underline, would be preferable in any printed version.

I have preferred to transliterate Persian and Indian words wherever possible; hence Āgra, Burhānpūr, Kābul, Multān; though all those names are well known in English in that same form, but without diacritical marks. Hence Qandahār rather than Kandahar; Ḥaidarābād rather than Hyderabad, although the conventional spelling of the Deccani city is used in a modern context. Delhi, Lahore and Tatta<sup>1</sup> are exceptions; so is Rao; so are the Indus and the Jumna; so also is the Nerbudda. I have not followed Professor Boyle's example with cadi, Koran, and vizier<sup>2</sup>; although in phrases of conventional praise such as wazīr-i-sā'ib tadbīr I have reflected the stylization by using the conventional English spelling, I have retained wazīr for both the man and his office. In India, an amīr may be an ameer, but never an emir.

The Indian environment of Aurangzib's letters has not been reflected in any attempt to preserve the pronunciation current in his day. Vocalic wāw was almost always majhūl; so, very often, was vocalic yā. Irvine was accurate as to pronunciation when he transliterated "'arābahāe", "ba jāe"<sup>3</sup> for 'arābahā'ī, "ba jā-i", but to follow him now would be eccentric. By the time he published his monumental edition of Manucci's *Storia*, he was beginning to change his mind. Steingass has been followed with such words as pesh, nauroz, and tola.

As the diacritical marks have had to be supplied by hand, it is certain that some will have been missed. For this I beg pardon.

---

1. Tatta occurs in the mss as Thatha, Tatha, Thatta, Thaththa, etc: to standardise the English form seems best. On contemporary coins it is Tatta without tashdīd.

2. History of the World-Conqueror, XXXVI.

3. Army of the Indian Moghuls, 113, 233.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Ahkām	Ahkām-i-'Ālamgīrī, ed. and trans. by Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār
Aurangzīb	History of Aurangzib (5 vols) - Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār
B	Asiatic Society of Bengal's ms of the Ādāb-i- Ālamgīrī (used by Nadwī)
B.M.	British Museum ms. Or 177 of the Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī
Ch.	'Abdu'l Ghafūr Chaudhurī's edition of the Ādāb-i- 'Ālamgīrī, Lahore, 1971
Hyd.	Sir Sālār Jang Library ms. of the Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī
I.O.	India Office Library ms. of the Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī
M	Madrasa-i-Muhammadiya, Āgra: ms. of the Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī used by Nadwī
M.A.	Muhammad Sāqī Musta'idd Khān's Ma'āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī (A.S.B. (Bib. Ind.) 1871
M.U.	Samsamu'd daula Shāh Nawāz Khān's Ma'āṣiru'l Umarā: 3 vols, A.S.B. (Bib. Ind.) 1888-1891
Manucci	Niccolò Manucci - Storia do Mogor: 4 vols, ed. and trans. by William Irvine, London, 1907-08
N	Saiyid Najīb Ashraf Nadwī's selections from the Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī, styled Ruq'āt-i-'Ālamgīr
R	Riṣā' Library Rāmpūr, ms. of the Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī
S	Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār's copy of the Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī, said to be "very correct copy" of a ms. once owned by Khudā Bakḥsh and used by Nadwī
Tūzuk	Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī trans. and ed. by Rogers & Beveridge (Delhi reprint, 1968)
'U	ms. of the Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī owned by Nadwī's friend Abū 'Umr Ṣalāḥ Yāfe'i, used by Nadwī

## INTRODUCTION

As Nūru'd-dīn Jahāngīr, Emperor of Hindūstān, was marching from Ahm.adābād to Ujjain after the rains of 1618, he halted at Dohad, on the frontiers of Gujarāt and Mālwa; and that evening, on Saturday 3 November 1618, "the Giver of Blessings gave my prosperous son Shāh Jahān a precious son by the daughter of Āsaf Khān.<sup>1</sup> The Emperor halted for three days. Three weeks later, the imperial train had reached Ujjain, and Shāh Jahān<sup>2</sup> entertained his father to a party "with brimming cups"; offering many jewels, and fifty elephants, he presented the baby and asked a name for him. "Please God it will be given him in a favourable hour", said the Emperor; and later he was named Aurangzīb. None could foresee that this, the most single-minded, tenacious, and long-lived of the race of Timur, would live ninety years, rule for fifty, and weaken beyond repair the foundations of that vast and varied empire which Akbar had founded, and Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān were to maintain.

The child's first eight years were spent in the train of his father, first as a successful general and then as a rebel. In 1625 he and his eldest brother Dārā were sent to Jahāngīr's court as hostages for their father's good conduct, when Shāh Jahān realised he could no longer continue in arms; and with Jahāngīr they remained, enduring the episode of Mahābat Khān's control of the Emperor's person, until after Jahāngīr's death in October 1627 they were brought down to Āgra to meet their father, the new Emperor. They were reunited with him early in March, 1628.

Aurangzīb was nine and a half. He continued to live the luxurious but disciplined life of a Mughul prince, under regular tuition in letters, theology, and the duties and manners of one born to greatness; he learned Arabic; he acquired mastery of the three principal styles of hand-writing;<sup>3</sup> and, though no authentic sources detail the stages of his education, nor the men who taught him, he must now have acquired the foundations of that rock-firm Islamic orthodoxy, to which he held throughout his long life.

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1. Tūzuk (R.&B.) II, 47.

2. Prince Khurram had been given this unprecedented title in October, 1617: *ibid*, I, 395.

3. naskh, nasta'liq, and shikasta: M.A., 532.



On 7 June, 1633, at an imperial elephant fight, he was thrown from his horse by a furious elephant, and confronted it on foot with his sword. Rescued, with his brother 'Shujā' playing a not unworthy part, he coolly confronted his anxious father with the remark that there was no dishonour in what he had done: "the shame lay in what my brothers did".<sup>1</sup>

In December 1634, he received his formal admission into the ranks of the manṣabdārs, the "rank-holders" who whether in civil or military command were the administrators of the Mughul empire. None could hold any post, unless admitted formally into imperial service; and each man's rank and salary was regulated by a number, between 20 and 7000. This was called his zāt, "personal status"; and its rise and fall, and even its total cancellation, were at the absolute discretion of the Emperor. A royal prince, above even the highest noble in status if not in power or responsibility, Aurangzīb began his official life as a manṣabdār of 10000, and thenceforth, with only the slightest intermission,<sup>2</sup> Aurangzīb was strenuously engaged in affairs of state.

An active career of upwards of seventy years cannot fail to stir even the most stolid mind; and the severe and unrelenting character of Aurangzīb the Emperor has impressed itself so deeply upon history, that few have not heard his name. The career of Aurangzīb the prince, almost five and twenty years of strenuous and varied activity from the hot dry Deccan plains to the sandy shores of the Oxus, falls into the back-ground; men tend to forget, that he was no mere youth, but a man of forty and one of the most experienced commanders of the Islamic world, when in 1658 he triumphed in Sāmugarh and imprisoned his once-respected father in the fort of Āgra.

The formative years of such a man should surely command our attention, and our interest. The primary sources for "the period of princehood" (zamān-i-pādshāhzādagī) as writers of the years after his accession call it, are of three classes. First is the official history of Shāh Jahān's reign known as the Pādshāhnāma, written by 'Abdu'l Ḥamīd Lāhorī

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1. Aḥkām-i 'Ālamgīrī (ed. and tr. Sarkar) 1. p.31.

2. sc., his controversial and imperfectly documented "retreat" (inziwā) in 1644, after being recalled from his viceroyalty of the Deccan.

and continued by Muḥammad Wārīṣ, Wārīṣ Khān (d.1680), and works derived from it or relying upon it, such as the 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh. Second are the surviving official papers of Shāh Jahān's reign. Of these the largest collection seems to be at Haidarabad in the Deccan, in the hands of the Āndhra state government, in succession to the dismantled dominions of the Nizāmu'l Mulk. Valuable selections from them were published in the 1950's under the title "Selected Documents of Shāh Jahān's Reign" and "Selected Waqā'i of the Deccan". Third are letters of contemporaries, gathered in such collections as the Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī. And fourth are the administrative handbooks such as the Dastūru'l 'Amal-i-Shāhjāhānī, and the collections of farmāns, private letters, descriptions of Court ceremonies, and such like, of which genre the Chahār Chaman-i-Brahman of Rā'i Chandra Bhān (c.1600-c.1665), and his Inshā'-i-Brahman ("The Brahman's Letters" are examples).

The Pādshāhnāma was printed in the last century, and the 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ in the earlier part of this. Selections from the Chahār Chaman-i-Brahman were apparently printed at the beginning of the last century.<sup>1</sup> Other material of this type has remained unprinted.

The Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī has survived in numerous manuscripts; selections were printed in India in 1930, and an edition, based apparently on a single manuscript, was put out in Lahore in 1971. It is not merely curiosity about an aspect of Aurangzīb's early career that has ensured, by a multiplicity of manuscripts, the survival of this particular collection of letters; but the literary taste of an age which saw all around it the signs of its own decline.

Aurangzīb was famous, even while he lived, as a writer of elegant and accurate Persian; his mordant wit was celebrated, and anecdotes of his old age were collected, published, and widely read. One such miscellany, known as Aḥkāṁ-i-'Ālamgīrī, has been published, and translated into English by Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār; it is the work of Ḥamīdu'd-dīn

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1. This vagueness is due to the fact that the extract provided by the India Office Library, relating to Shāh Jahān's court routine, lacks all bibliographical details. The British Museum possesses mss. of the Chahar Chaman-i-Brahman (Add. 1892) and the Insha'-i-Brahman (Add. 26141).

Khān Nīmcha.<sup>1</sup> It was well known, that Aurangzīb himself revised all letters sent out in his name, and composed many of them; in 1704 (1115 H.)<sup>2</sup> the Ādāb-i-Ālamgīrī was published by one Ṣādiq Muṭṭalibī of Ambāla in the Panjāb.<sup>3</sup> He had collected copies of the Prince's letters, made by the secretary who had despatched them. The Emperor would certainly have tried to suppress the publication had he known of it; but Ṣādiq probably relied upon Aurangzīb's great age, and the declining vigour of his administration; and on the probability, that in the distant Deccan he was unlikely ever to learn of it.<sup>4</sup>

The letters in this collection were copied or written by Munshī Abū'l Fath, of Tattah, who on his master's accession was ennobled as Qābil Khān, and when his eyes began to fail, retired, about July 1659. He was given a pension of Rs.5000 a year, after 26 years' service, twelve of them under Aurangzīb.<sup>5</sup> He was thought a fine writer, "elegant and facile".<sup>6</sup> The collection of letters enjoyed considerably popularity, as much for their subject-matter as for their style; for letters written by Aurangzīb in 1657 and 1658 on

1. Aḥkāṁ actually means "orders, decrees, commands". Since every word of the Emperor was represented as a command, the English title is quite appropriate.

2. The chronogram is: "gul-i-bāgh-i-jān", "a rose from the garden of life" B.M. 4A.

3. In his introduction to the letters, Ṣādiq mentions Ambāla as a dependency of Sirhind, of which he writes:

Sirhind magū ki rashk-i-Chīn ast

Khuldaṣt barīn, ke bar zamīn ast

The letters were collected for the benefit of one Muḥammad Zamān, "azīẓtar az jān", a son or a nephew. I.O., 2A, R., 1B. In a note written across the last page of the B.M. ms., we read: "The date of the death of the revered Shaikh Muḥammad Ṣādiq was the 10th Muḥarram in the fifth year of Farrukhshahar (sic) equivalent to 1129 Hijri." Below this is a correction: "On Friday, 'Ashūra day, 1128". This fits the calendar, (Friday, 27 December 1716) and the official regnal year of Farrukhsiyar.

4. cf the remarks to this effect by Iftikhār Aḥmad in his bibliography, 160.

5. Ma'āṣir-i-Ālamgīrī (text) 26. His rank was 1000 zāt; cf Aṭṭhar 'Alī, 215. His brother Muḥammad Sharīf got his title Qābil Khān in 1674 (M.A.140), and, dismissed and deprived of his hoards, gained through bribes, in 1680 (ibid, 190-191).

6. Sarkār, Aurangzīb, I, 102.



the "design of acquiring the throne"<sup>1</sup> are numerous, and popular imagination was at once repelled and fascinated by such high points as the solemn agreement, impressed with the mark of his five fingers (but later broken) by which he agreed to divide the empire with his younger brother Murād Bakhsh;<sup>2</sup> and the series of sanctimonious letters to Shāh Jahān, justifying his deposition and imprisonment by the canonical duty to defend Islām and save his own soul.<sup>3</sup>

The collection was augmented by the addition of 131 letters written by Ṣādiq the publisher as munshī to Aurangzīb's son Prince Muḥammad Akbar, during his Rājput campaign of 1680; these end just before he rebelled on 1 January 1681. Ṣādiq has added a history of the war of succession, compiled by himself, mostly out of the voluminous 'Ālamgīrnāma of Muḥammad Kāẓim. This and most of his other sources having survived, the work has only secondary value.

Three manuscripts of the Ādāb-i-Ālamgīrī have been used in preparing this translation. The oldest, and probably the best, is that in the Riḏā' Library of the quondam princely state of Rāmpūr in Rohilkhand, where a line of Shī'ī' Nawābs accumulated a splendid collection of excellent manuscripts, and housed them in a luxurious library in a free adaptation of the Second Empire style. It appears to have been transcribed in 1120 H/1708-9, and may be presumed to keep as closely to the original as any other. The splendid clarity and precise calligraphy of the original are but imperfectly reproduced in the grey and dingy photographic copy supplied by the National Archives of India. I had seen the original in February, 1972;

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1. Sarkār's adaptation (Aurangzib, I, 308) of the copious yet imprecise language of Aurangzīb's undertaking ('ahdnāma) to divide the empire with Murād Bakhsh: I.O. 104A; B.M. 94A. Iftikhār Aḥmad, 123, merely reproduces Sir Jādūnāth's version, with immaterial alterations.

2. Abstracts are offered by Sarkār, I, 308-309 and Faruki, 78-79. Faruki 79-84 (esp.84) and Iftikhār Aḥmad (123-4, 144) think that Murād alone was guilty, and that his arrest was justified by his "insincerity". But the insincerity was on both sides. The real reasons why Aurangzīb broke the compact were reasons of state, as Dr. Iftikhār Aḥmad admits, in rather anachronistic language - "yet it was expedient no doubt and meant an immunity to the masses from one more calamitous battle". (144).

3. Ādāb 260a - 264a; abstracted by Sarkār, III, 131-137; not inaccurately summarised by Manucci, II, 19-21. Sarkār considers Khāfī Khān, II, 101-106, unreliable.

I received the copy (which lacked many pages) in June, 1973. By then a text had been established by the aid of the two other manuscripts, to which I now turn.

These are the manuscripts of the India Office Library and the British Museum. That in the British Museum (Or.177) was transcribed in Shāhjahānābād in Ramaḡān, 1125/September-October 1713. This is the manuscript which has been used by Dr. 'Irfān Ḥabīb, the only scholar except Sarkār to make systematic use of the Ādāb. This neatly and uniformly written manuscript deserves high authority, as the scribe says that he made it on the "original draft". The manuscript in the India Office Library (Ethé 371), written in 1151/1738-9, bears the impression of a seal dated 1175 (1761-62) and has a colophon dated 1197 (1780-81); it consists of 427 quarto sheets, closely written on both sides in a somewhat slovenly clerkly hand, exhibiting many varieties, and sometimes almost neat, with between 18 and 24 lines, each of 15 to 20 words, on each page; the whole was bound up as a book early in the last century, and was inherited by the India Office from the East India Company.

This India Office manuscript was used by Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār (1870-1958) in his monumental History of Aurangzīb - or rather, what he calls "a cheap rotograph" (Aurangzib, I, xvii). From this he must have had transcribed a further copy, as the pagination in his references varies from the manuscript, and Nadwī has noticed many, mostly inferior readings, different from the original manuscript, in the one he attributes to Sir Jādūnāth.

At Ḥaidarābād, in the newly re-housed Sir Sālār Jang Library, there is a manuscript of the Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīrī written in 1194H/1780. This is of interest for the variant readings it supplies; but I was able to make only a few hurried transcripts in May, 1972. The promised photographic copy has never come to hand. An example of the use which might be made of this manuscript can be seen in the notes to Letter 7.

Other manuscripts are demonstrably inferior. None of those used by Nadwī in his selections is free from blemish, but the editor was discriminating, and established a text which is on the whole good; but the single manuscript used in the recent Lahore edition is almost as defective as Nadwī's worst. One manuscript only appears to deserve further special

attention: that of the 'Abdu's-salām collection in the 'Alīgarh Muslim University Library, which I could not see. Speaking generally, the text depends upon the four manuscripts at Rāmpūr and Ḥaidarābād, in the British Museum, and in the India Office. The other manuscripts in India, except perhaps that at 'Alīgarh, are of secondary importance.

Final establishment of the text has of course been materially helped by the two printed versions. That of Saiyid Najīb Ashraf Nadwī was printed by the Dāru'l Muṣannifīn at 'Azamgarh without a date (but in 1929 or 1930) under the title Ruḡa'āt-i 'Ālamgīrī; (the India Office copy was accessioned on 30 March 1932) and contains all the letters translated here, arranged for the most part in proper chronological order, and selections from Aurangzīb's other correspondence as Viceroy of the Deccan. The work is lithographed; the calligraphy is elegant but often minute, and the careful footnotes indeed require careful attention, the arrangement being entirely traditional. There is no commentary, that having been provided in a diffuse Urdū "Muqaddima", published separately.

The greatest single advantage of the Saiyid's collection is his painstaking collection of variant readings - painstaking but not complete, as the frequency of the phrase: "N. notes no variant", occurring in the notes to these letters, will testify. Yet it is sufficient to show, that apart from the possible exception of the Ḥaidarābād manuscript (which he did not use) there is one uniform manuscript tradition. Errors are due to haste, ignorance of proper names or unusual words, or inability at once to distinguish the correct word from among similar-seeming possibilities. An almost classic example is I.O.'s regular imṣāl for imsāl. Another fortunate fact is, that a high proportion of the variant readings occur in the least important part of the letters, the formal introductions.

'Abdu'l Ghafūr Chaudhurī has recently published an edition of the Ādāb in two volumes; it was issued in Lahore in 1971, from the Pakistan Historical Society (Idāra-i-Taḥqīqāt-i-Pākistān) of the University of the Punjab. This body has recently issued useful editions of many works, and



this edition is also useful; but it suffers from several grave defects. The greatest is its reliance upon one single manuscript, of which it is really a revised copy; Nadwī's labours have been ignored. The editor gives particulars of this manuscript on page 16; it is in the Public Library of Lahore, consists of 381 sheets 12<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>" by 8", is written in well-formed and elegant nasta'līq, and was completed on 28 Rabī'II 1211/31 October 1796. It is thus two generations later than the latest of the three principal manuscripts. On occasions, Chaudhurī has corrected an obviously wrong reading, but in many cases he has simply let the worse reading stand, without comment. The text is further burdened with numerous printing errors, the greater part of which do not appear in the errata sheets;<sup>1</sup> the type used is occasionally damaged, resulting in further want of clarity. The other source of error is in the introductory notes to the letters themselves. Laconic to the point of uncommunicativeness, these quite often miss the point altogether (e.g. Letter 47); sometimes contain errors readily correctable, and perhaps accidental (e.g. Letter 38) and occasionally lapse into the most glaring absurdity. One example is the introduction to the first letter in the collection addressed to Shāh Nawāz Khān<sup>2</sup>: "Shāh Nawāz Khān was the father of Dilras Bānū Begam ... Princes Mu'azzam and Akbar, Zebu'n-nisā, Zīnatu'n-nisā, and others were from the womb of this princess". The third letter announces the birth of a son, a grandson to Shāh Nawāz Khān on "12 Sha'bān". This was the date of the birth of 'Āzam in 1063/1653; but Chaudhurī says that the letter "probably concerns the birth of Akbar" who was not born on that date.<sup>4</sup>

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1. pp.649-50 at the end of the first volume, and 1247-48 at the end of the second.

2. Ch. prints this letter on page 575. See I.O. fo.152 B.

3. Dilras' children were three girls, Zebu'n-nisā (1638-1703) Zīnatu'n-nisā (1643-1721) and Zubdatu'n-nisā (1651-1707); and two sons, 'Āzam (1653-1707) and Akbar (1657-1704). It is well known that the imperious 'Āzam purported to despise his brother Mu'azzam (1643-1712) because born of Nawāb Bāi, of stock inferior in his opinion to the Ṣafawī lineage of his own mother.

4. Akbar was born on 12 Zī Hījja, 1067/22 September 1657. His mother, aged about 39, died of the effects of the birth on 12 Muharram 1068/21 October 1657. There would have been no place or time for congratulations. Aurangzīb was otherwise occupied. The dates of the birth and death of all Aurangzīb's ten children are given in M.A., 539-540. (text)

Chaudhurī's text, therefore, must be used with circumspection and constantly compared with the older manuscripts; while his notes must be read, and used, with the greatest caution.

The style of the letters has always been highly regarded in India; but it shows clear signs of that somewhat stylised flatulence, characteristic of post-classical Persian; although plays upon words<sup>1</sup> and apposite verses (so often used, to make a high point of rhetoric) are few, towering piles of synonymous phrases and epithets remain.

Naturally, the "bladder'd bombast" of the style is most striking in the formal introductions. A letter from the Emperor is "a royal missive, glittering with light"; one is not merely pleased to receive them; one feels a sense of exaltation at the arrival of such a treasure of glory and pride.<sup>2</sup> The Emperor is not informed of events; they are "brought to the glorious and resplendent sense of hearing".<sup>3</sup> He does not read letters; they "pass beneath the luminous gaze".<sup>4</sup> The Emperor does not write; for a "musk-scattering pen traces lines of bliss";<sup>5</sup> the pen, indeed, is sometimes "jewelled", sometimes even "miracle working".<sup>6</sup> Mere decisions are quite beneath a being, so exalted: ... "the royal mind, which resembles the sun, is the source of sacred illumination and the place from which invisible light descends... Your Majesty, (the shadow of God) perceives and understands better than any man, with the aid of Your god-given discernment and far-seeing wisdom; everything which the kingdom-adorning mind decides ... is the marrow of good policy and the essence of prudence".<sup>7</sup>

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1. Such as Khān-i-sa'ādat-nishān, "the Khān, the pattern of felicity". The root sa'd means "auspiciousness, prosperity, felicity"; Sa'dullāh Khān (c.1590-1656), was the famous wazīr, serving from 1645 to his death. His title means "the felicity (granted by) God".

2. Letter 19.

3. Ba musāmi'-i-jāh wa jalāl is the standard formula.

4. Aurangzīb is not above using such language of himself, and for the same reason: a letter to him from Multafit Khān has, he says, "passed, through the mediation of the partakers in (my) sacred assembly, under (my) luminous gaze (az nazr-i-anwar guzasht) I.O. 199A.

5. Letter 16.

6. Letter 14.

7. Letter 15, page 46.



Imperial orders are not merely issued and received; having acquired nobility by being issued, they scatter the brilliance of their arrival. An imperial officer is "a slave of the Court, the refuge of rulers" and "a grace-scatterer of the refulgent Court". The imperial army is always dignified by lofty compound epithets: "resembling heaven"; "having traditions of victory"; "inseparably associated with conquest"; indeed, defeat is unthinkable because of the "imperishable imperial good fortune".

Superfluous it appears to us, and even absurd; yet this exalted language is a reflection of the hieratic magnificence with which the Mughuls sedulously surrounded themselves. The more exactly defined and jealously guarded the various degrees of rank, the more effectively would the zeal of the officers of state uphold them, and the more securely would the Emperor's state and splendour appear established.

Particularly striking is the style used by Aurangzīb in speaking of himself. He is always "this servant", "this murīd"; scarcely ever "I".<sup>1</sup> In his father's communications (which are often quoted at length, by way of acknowledgment) he is not "you", but "that murīd".

Now the disciple of a Ṣūfī saint is a murīd;<sup>2</sup> likewise, in figurative mystic writings, murīd can mean "lover". When Akbar, in organising the nobility, provided four degrees of loyalty - the highest being readiness to sacrifice property, honour, faith, and life in the Emperor's service - it became common for those admitted to the highest favour to be called murīds.<sup>3</sup> Nor was this a hollow formula; the emperors insisted, that the duties of a disciple be taken seriously. Once a noble of Jahāngīr's court, 'Abdu'llāh Khān, told the Emperor that a holy man of the Naqshbandī order, Khwāja Khwānd Maḥmūd, was trying to make him his murīd, even though he knew that he was the Emperor's murīd.<sup>4</sup> The emperor burst

1. Letter 46 provides an exception.

2. Literally, "one who desires".

3. These "four degrees of sincerity" were accepted in the oath of loyalty taken by those most closely attached to the Emperor: Mullā Abdu'l Qādir Badā'ūnī, Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh, Bib. Ind., Vol. II, 304. Akbar sought Mān Singh's interpretation of the oath in 1587, and the Rāja replied that he would become a Muslim if the Emperor wished it.

4. Rizvī, Muslim Revivalist Movements, 183-184. The incident probably arose out of a quarrel between the Khān and the Khwāja; but the significant thing is the Emperor's attitude.

into wrath, and a somewhat sophistical theological argument was required, to assuage his displeasure at the Khwāja's presumption.

Externally, at any rate, Aurangzīb accepted his position as a disciple, as well as a subject. The Emperor is his "saintly preceptor", pīr-i-dastgīr, just as a holy man is the pīr of the little circle of initiated murids; not only is he a preceptor, he is a guide (murshid), a term pregnant with theological and mystic meaning, for it is by a murshid that a murīd is set upon the path (ṭarīqa) towards true knowledge of God. In exorbitant language, the Emperor's prudence, experience, and wisdom are flattered; his mind is "the heart of angelic penetration ... the seat of sacred illuminations and the destination of heavenly communications", and even "the sacred heart". Yet all this fits perfectly a disciple, who has obeyed the requirements of mystic discipline, and put himself body and mind at the disposal of his "true preceptor and guide" (pīr wa murshid-i-ḥaqīqī).

While Muslim orthodoxy admitted all these claims on behalf of a pīr and murshid, it insisted that he be learned in Islamic theology, and an exact follower, in every detail, of the Muslim law. The Mughul emperors were neither; yet, despite Islamic doctrines about the subordinacy of kings to Muslim law, they were absolute rulers. The realities of the situation allowed no alternative. There is a tale that Sultān 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī of Delhi (1296-1316) once told Qāzī Mughīṣu'd-dīn: "I do not know, whether my laws are sanctioned by our faith; I decree what I consider good for the state." Other rulers might have repudiated the crude language, but would have applauded, and followed, the Sultān's sentiments.

Aurangzīb accepted the situation as he found it; and it is more than doubtful whether he ever felt the slightest qualms, although in his fight for the crown, and throughout his long reign, he put himself forward as a champion of the strictest Sunnī orthodoxy. He did not hesitate to speak grandly of his readiness to hazard his life in the Emperor's service; when he himself was Emperor, he expected similar professions from those in his own service, yet would sometimes laugh at them when made. At all times he uses the very language which a few of the orthodox in his day, and many in ours, have asserted to be so objectionable in the courtiers of Akbar.

It is perhaps worthy of remark, that no historian has dwelt upon this fundamental fact of Aurangzīb's epistolary style. Granted that the language of Sufic discipleship is unacceptable to the strictly orthodox for use in secular conversation, ought not the question be posed, why Aurangzīb did not when young protest against it, when older abandon it, and when Emperor suppress it? I think the answer, though clear, has been avoided because it runs against accepted views of him as either a religious bigot, or a paragon; Aurangzīb was enough of a realist to welcome any practice which helped to hold the state together. There can be no doubt, that this particular mode of Court etiquette served to exalt the Emperor in the public eye, and raise him far above that primacy among equals which had, in theory, been the position of the early Muslim rulers.

One further religious point remains to be noted. Though it seems a little excessive, to those of modern tastes, to call rebels, turbulent men, and even honourable enemies "worthless", "accursed", and "abandoned by God", it was the accepted practice of the age; but a deeper significance underlies the abuse hurled at Persia and its Shāh. The state religion of that country was Shī'ism, but in India, the majority of Muslims has always been Sunnī; holding that the "orthodox" caliphate came to 'Alī through the choice of the faithful, and that his predecessors Abū Bakr, 'Umr and 'Uṣmān held the office by as good a right as he. Indian Sunnis have always tended to shower the Shias with odium theologicum.

Moreover, the Shāh of Persia claimed a spiritual headship over all his subjects; a claim, which Sunnī orthodoxy must reject. Even his historic title, Shāhanshāh (King of Kings) was denied him; the pious claim, that only God is "King of Kings". In official Mughul language he is merely "the ruler of Īrān". The Shāh was descended from a line of Ṣūfī saints; Shāh Isma'īl Ṣafawī, the founder of the dynasty (1500-1524) and the first monarch for centuries of Persian race, was recognised as a spiritual leader, and his mantle fell on each of his successors. Political rivalry, as well as orthodox prejudices, demanded that the Shāh be spoken of with disdain.



There are considerable difficulties in the way of a correct chronological arrangement of Aurangzīb's letters, especially those written in the Deccan in 1654 and 1655. Of the few remaining from his vice-royalty of Multān, before the second Qandahār campaign engrossed his attention, the first two have no indication of date; of the thirty-seven Deccan letters written between Aurangzīb's state entry into Daulatābād on 6 December 1653, and the beginning of the Golconda campaign, only one (Letter 88) has any indication of a date; one other (Letter 66) can be dated within a week or two by reference to a paper fortuitously seen and noted by me in the vast but almost untouched accumulations of the former Āṣaf Jāhī government.

On the march, however, Aurangzīb sometimes gives the date of writing (Letters 44, 45, and 47) and acknowledges the date of receipt of the Imperial communication he is answering. Occasionally he makes it clear that he is replying forthwith; in no case would he have delayed an acknowledgement beyond a day or two. Thus the greater part of his letters to Shāh Jahān are datable with tolerable accuracy. A few others are incidentally dated by Aurangzīb while writing (Letters 26 and 29; also Letter 88, dated simply "Tuesday" but datable by reference to a letter to Jahānārā). Speaking broadly, all the letters relating to the preparations, the march, and the campaign against Qandahār are dated satisfactorily; so are those relating to the march to Kābul, and thence to the capital of the Deccan; and also those touching upon the Golconda<sup>campaign</sup>; but the bulk of the Deccan letters are not.

It has thus proved possible to alter somewhat the order of the letters as set out in the manuscripts, at least in the earlier part. The Deccan letters are set out almost exactly as Nadwī arranged them. Transpositions are possible; Letters 83, 84, and 85 should perhaps be placed between Letters 66 and 67; Letters 74 and 87 might perhaps be brought closer together. On the whole, however it seems better to postpone a final arrangement of the Deccan letters until full use can be made of Mr Zīā'u'd-dīn Aḥmad's work at the Central Records Office of the Āndhra government.

His catalogue promises to be as useful as the compilations made under Dr Yūsuf Husain Khān in elucidating questions of identity, topography, and chronology, and will be an essential aid to any study of the considerable changes and consolidation effected in the Mughul Deccan under Shāh Jahān.

The table provided as Appendix B sets out the date and place of writing of each letter, and a brief note of the reasons why the date was assigned.

The method of carrying the letters calls for some comment. They were entrusted to the dāk-chaukī,<sup>1</sup> the Imperial post-office, an organisation reserved for the Emperor's own use which in its speed and efficiency impressed contemporary travellers. Very little direct evidence of the organisation of the service survives, but it is clear that the relays were generally run and not ridden, and that sixty miles a day was a fair average.

From Aurangzīb's letters a useful addition may be made to our knowledge of the imperial posting-system. He generally acknowledges the manner in which the letter was brought him. Thus we have yasāwals, jalaudārs, gurzburdārs, garāwals, chelas, and even Afghān foot-soldiers.<sup>2</sup> The first two belonged to the postal service; the gurzburdārs were "mace-bearers", men whose arrival might strike an ordinary officer with dread, as their duty was to indicate imperial displeasure, to enforce imperial commands, and often escort an officer in disgrace to Court, or even to prison.<sup>3</sup>

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1. dāk: "Post (for the conveyance of letters), the mail; disposition of a relay of horses, or runners, or palkī-bearers along a road (for the conveyance of the post or travellers ..... dāk-čaukī ... a post-station; a station or stage at which a relay (of horses or runners, etc.) is posted for the conveyance of the mail, or travellers" Platts, s.v. dak, 562 Cf. Wilson, Glossary, 119: "... Relays of men or cattle along the road ...." (p.119) The usual name for a postal system in Muslim countries has been barīd, probably derived from the Low Latin veredus, which is of Gaulish origin; cf Steingass s.v., 182.

2. Pressed into this service by Aurangzīb when writing from Lakia west of the Indus on his march to Qandahār; see Letter 23.

3. See note 2 to page 94 (Letter 28) and also page 339 (Letter 97); a farmān is sent to Qutbu'l Mulk with two gurzburdārs.

Qarāwals were military scouts. Chelas were the Emperor's private servants, really his slaves; it is well known how Akbar had introduced this term setting aside the word banda because it was wrong that a man should be a slave to any but God.

The letters carried by the various messengers would have been brought in a bamboo tube (na'l) stopped at either end (sar ba muhr) or a sealed embroidered bag or purse (kharīta) such as continued to be used for ceremonial communications until the end of the native states in India. Gifts of jewels, rings, and other small objects would have come in elegant boxes; the bulkier gifts of ceremonial robes,<sup>1</sup> in parcels done up in cloth and sealed all around. The horse Shāh Jahān sent at the beginning of the Qandahār campaign, which gave Aurangzīb so much pleasure,<sup>2</sup> would have been despatched by easy stages in the change of a groom (sā'is) with the same care as Aurangzīb took to send the tribute-elephants from Golconda.<sup>3</sup>

As well as these ceremonial gifts, there was a regular traffic of fruit for the Emperor's tables and of goods from the kārkhānas of Jahānārā and the princes. We do not read of Aurangzīb executing any commissions for Dārā; but he does attend to things for his sister,<sup>4</sup> and sends goods from his own kārkhānas to the Emperor.<sup>5</sup> The kārkhānas of the imperial family were under the direct oversight of a member, whenever possible; and the despatch of their produce was his responsibility.

In all these cases, the state service and its officers could be used; but the ḍāk-chaukī and its ancillary arrangements were strictly prohibited to manṣabdārs, and even princes, for their private purposes without the Emperor's express leave.

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1. Khil'at, an outer garment; sar-o-pā, a full suit, usually comprising seven items.

2. Letter 17.

3. Letter 88.

4. Fuller particulars can be gleamed from his correspondence with her, to be edited later.

5. Cf. Letter 11.



It is disappointing, though (alas) not surprising, to observe, that political ambitions, and racial and religious bias, have induced recent authors to falsify history. In effect, they are carrying on the traditions of the more rigid and severe men of the period they describe. In India<sup>1</sup> and Pakistan alike, enthusiasts and revivalists, dreaming of vanished glories which scarcely existed but in the visions of poets and pavegyrists, have allowed their feelings of what ought have been to drown their instinct of what was.

Islamic orthodoxy is gratified by presenting Aurangzīb as a paladin of the faith. Such a view has not been unpalatable to seekers of salve to a pride that regrets vanished grandeur. The reverence accorded Aurangzīb is accorded in modified degree to Shāh Jahān, who was personally pious and occasionally bigoted, even though he deserved to be put away by such a one as Aurangzīb. Jahāngīr is not esteemed; he was lax in matters of personal orthodoxy, capricious in rewarding and favouring Muslim holy men - shaikhs and 'ulamā particularly - and he showed favour to Hindu ascetics as well as adopting or countenancing Hindu practices. Akbar can barely be mentioned without a shudder; by his eclecticism, he is believed to have shaken Islām to its foundations. If Muslim orthodoxy did not rule in every department of state, the state must fall; there could be no

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1. Mentioned only to be forgotten are the remarkable productions of the voluble P.N. Oak, late of Poona and now of Delhi, whose writings on the essential Hindu quality of every Muslim building and institution are as extraordinary as they are prolific. As President of the Institute for Rewriting Indian History, he has published, in "Some Blunders of Indian Historical Research" (Delhi, 1966) an essay seeking to prove that the Tāj Maḥal is a "Rajput Palace" (ibid, 33-45; cf 336-7). Only the "scribblings" thereon are Muslim! To conclude his argument, he quotes one Flagmeier, of Minneapolis (ibid, 44-45). On this aspect of the Hindu renaissance, see N.C. Chaudhurī, "Autobiography of an Unknown Indian (London, 1951), 203. Mr. Oak would (if he knew of it) condemn Letters 44 and 45 in this collection as malicious forgeries; cf p.121 of the above-cited work.

co-operation with Hindus except as subordinates, no adaptation of their habits, no absorption of their ideas. This view is firmly but temperately stated by Dr. Riyāzu'l Islām, one of the foremost Pakistani historians,<sup>1</sup> and is a view which must be held by anyone who accepts the ideology which supported the emergence of Pakistan, and sustains it to this day.<sup>2</sup>

It is therefore found distasteful to analyse any aspect of the career of Aurangzīb dispassionately. His place in history has already been assigned by his own unimpeachable orthodoxy, and sleepless attention to every injunction of "the firm faith".

An example of this missionary attitude is "The War of Succession between the Sons of Shah Jahan", by Dr Iftikhār Aḥmad Ghaurī (Lahore, 1964). This work sets out to prove that the conflict was essentially religious: the good, the holy, and the Sunnī supported Aurangzīb, while the loose-living, the luke-warm, and the Shī'ī supported Dārā. Striking in this analysis is the relegation of Shāh Jahān to obscure senility: Aurangzīb's pretence that his father's illness in September 1657 had unfitted him to rule is taken for granted. Dārā's accession would destroy Sunnī Islām, and therefore Dārā himself must be destroyed.<sup>3</sup>

There can be no doubt that Dārā had personal enemies, as well as opposition from those who feared for Islām; there is also no doubt that Aurangzīb was regarded as capable, and his military and administrative efficiency must have looked very well when compared with Dārā's incapacity at Qandahār in 1653. But is this the whole story of the civil war? Were there not other causes? And <sup>does</sup> the Ādāb-i-Ālamgīrī provide a clue?

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1. In History of the Freedom Movement, pp.66-67 and 68-69. His chapter is entitled Symptoms of Decline.

2. I have not yet come across any scholarly attempt to explain the eruption and separation of Bangla Desh; nor of the extraordinary severity used by the Pakistan Army in trying to suppress the revolt. Many conversations have given a hint: Bengalis had been imperfectly Islamised, or had submitted to Hindu influences, or had fallen away from true orthodoxy. The continuity is instructive.

3. op.cit. p.152. The last paragraph states the position in unambiguous religio-political terms. Cf also 159-60.



Unfortunately, it does not. To those who would argue that Aurangzīb was under the influence of Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī and his successors, it tends to prove that he had no special interest in them.<sup>1</sup> It certainly does not show any single suggestion that any private postures of piety influenced his administration, or his choice of men.<sup>2</sup> Only in one instance does he directly allude to a religious matter; as the letter is not among those addressed to Shāh Jahān, it ought perhaps be considered here.

In 1655, the qānūngo of Bihār,<sup>3</sup> one Chhabīlā, a Hindu (and probably a Brahman, zunnadār) had insulted the Prophet. The local officers investigated, found the charge proved, and beheaded him; unlike Akbar, Shāh Jahān may not have insisted upon confirming all sentences of death. Aurangzīb had had letters that the brothers of Chhabīlā had petitioned at Court for redress. Writing to Sa'du'llāh Khān the wazīr, Aurangzīb demands that any petition for justice against Chhabila's executioners be disregarded. That such an appeal to the Emperor would be made, is natural; so too for Aurangzīb to wish it ignored: "Do even more than your colleagues to see that all avenues of complaint are closed to these misguided people".<sup>4</sup> However strong Aurangzīb's feelings might be against Hindus, he goes no further than the conventional language of the pious; the Persians are more volubly abused, in the letters on the siege of Qandahār. Aurangzīb's intervention goes no further than recommending that an administrative decision not be reversed.<sup>5</sup> No other evidence

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1. Letters 5 and 6; see especially the notes to Letter 6.

2. cf Letter 64, on his appointment of Rao Karan; Letter 72, refuting allegations of conduct not Islamic, rather tends to suggest that Aurangzīb kept his private opinions entirely out of his administrative acts.

3. The city now known as Bihār Sharīf, 30 miles south-east of Patna.

4. The letter may be seen in I.O. fo.136B; B.M. fo.120A Sir Jādūnāth has abstracted it in Aurangzib, I, 154-5. He mistakes the names of the Mīr 'Adil (Shaikh Muḥammad 'Alī) and the muftī, Shaikh 'Abdu'l Mu'īn.

5. That is, that the relatives of the deceased be prevented from exacting retaliation (qisās) upon the officers who executed him.

of Aurangzīb's private views exists in the Ādāb, and certainly none is disclosed to his father outside conventional limits of denigrating the enemy. Had Aurangzīb really displayed such tendencies, he might well have been recalled. Shāh Jahān intended no fundamental disturbance to the equilibrium Akbar had attained, based on peace with all his subjects. Later, when Aurangzīb after twenty years' rule began to disturb it, he was actuated by further motives than "propagating the law of Islām".<sup>1</sup>

Much more use can be made of the Ādāb in tracing Aurangzīb's attempt to attract and hold in his service, or in posts under his control, men of talent and ability. He made no distinction of sect or race, except what Mughul tradition regarded as prudent.<sup>2</sup> All were welcome to Aurangzīb's service and favour; and after he won the crown he was generous to all who had stood by him in the manner he had expected. In writing to his father, Aurangzīb must needs be discreet; but he opened his heart a little further to his sister,<sup>3</sup> and never hesitated to solicit the wazīr to support a promotion, secure a new posting, or retain by his side a good man called to Court. Dārā, on the other hand, had angered many of the greatest nobles, by the folly and arrogance that was mixed, so unfortunately for him, with his cordial and open manner.<sup>4</sup> Aurangzīb treated the leading men of the state

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1. The turning point was the re-imposition of jizya in April 1679 (M.A. 174; cf. 529). That the long-term results were ruinous can hardly be denied; but Aurangzīb wished to raise more money and yet act as a model Muslim sovereign. For twelve years or so after 1679, his policies appeared vindicated. It was in his last years that he saw all turn to dust.

2. e.g., Jalāl, an Afghān of the Kākar tribe, was regarded as unfit to administer the pargana of Ellichpūr - Letter 63 and note.

3. "My experienced servants are being detached from me, enrolled in the imperial service, and honoured with high manṣabs. If this goes on, none will wish to remain with me, and the group of [supporters] I have gathered over a space of twenty years will be broken up. How then will I be able to perform the duties of my position?" (I.O. 251A). This long and important letter mentions the calling to Court of Malik Husain: hitherto Aurangzīb's servant, not the Emperor's.

4. Letter 42, note, gives some particulars.

with conspicuous and perhaps exaggerated deference.<sup>1</sup> Manucci, in a passage often referred to,<sup>2</sup> sums up Dārā's attractions - and his weaknesses. Aurangzīb's weaknesses were not of a kind likely to excite disapproval, and in later life he rigorously disciplined himself. Only one even faintly discreditable or indecorous episode touches his private life.<sup>3</sup>

It is difficult to penetrate the origins of Aurangzīb's poisonous hatred of Dārā. From the little known of the Princes' childhood, scarcely more than notices of their presence in the train of their father or their grandfather, nothing positive can be gleaned. Did Dārā enjoy more parental love and affection? Did the ceaseless and often comfortless marching of Shāh Jahān during his rebellion harden Aurangzīb's heart against father and eldest brother? Was there some strain between the now adolescent Dārā and the yet small Aurangzīb while they were together between the end of 1625 and 1627, hostages for their father in the hands of Nūr Jahān? We can hardly expect to know, and speculation is out of place. It is certain, that by 1633 Aurangzīb was inflamed against both his elder brothers; and his hatred of Dārā burned on for three quarters of a century.<sup>4</sup> By it his ambition was spurred; by the memory of it, he was reminded never to relax the high and harsh standard he had set himself. To hatred of Dārā must be ascribed the principal motive in Aurangzīb's design for the crown, which it seems certain was finally formed as he marched away from Kābul to the Deccan, and saw his two other brothers, and his sisters.

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1. Ahkām-i-'Ālamgīrī (ed. and tr. Sarkār) § 3, 33-35 is the locus classicus. Shāh Jahān's reproach, and Aurangzīb's ostentatiously self-deprecating reply, are not in this correspondence.

2. I, 221-222. For his consorting with the Jesuits, I, 223-4, Dr Ghaurī purports to quote the first passage (op.cit. 36) but mangles it remarkably, culminating in a misrepresentation that must be deliberate. Manucci's "He was very fond of music and dancing ..." becomes: "He was fond of wine and dancing women". The Doctor might have noted Manucci's remarks about Dara's discreet drinking with the Jesuits (ibid, 224). Few in Pakistan will have access to Irvine's four volumes.

3. See Letter 52 (note).

4. cf his alleged "last will", probably authentic in the broad; Ahkām, 8, 48-49, and also a last letter to Kām Bakhsh, Sarkār, Aurangzīb, V, 212.



I disregard Dārā's interest in astrology, in Jesuits, in Christianity, in yogis and in Hindu mysticism; these tendencies can hardly have been apparent in childhood, and would not have prevented Dārā from succeeding to the throne as his irreproachably orthodox father's chosen successor, had there not been an Aurangzīb to dispute it with him. Dārā's unorthodox theological works, and the company he kept, are important for the use Aurangzīb made of them in justifying his revolt, his pursuit of Dārā, and his putting him to death. Had these deviations from the strict externals of orthodoxy been thought important while Shāh Jahān yet sat secure, Aurangzīb would have mentioned them in his frank and very critical correspondence with Jahānārā.

But Aurangzīb was also sustained by a rigid and enthusiastic orthodoxy, and a firm belief in the One God. For its origin too we are compelled to speculate; there is no authentic information upon the details of his education.<sup>1</sup> Anecdotes of his veneration for this or that saint appear to have originated with holy men anxious to edify the faithful, and not in official records or contemporary histories. The institution of the censor (muhtasib), which he imposed as Emperor in 1659, had little effect on daily life, except by fits and starts;<sup>2</sup> the sumptuary reforms of 1668 and 1669 affected the Court rather than the people; jizya was not imposed until the 22nd year of the reign;<sup>3</sup> and, throughout the reign, the observance of the severer rules was only sporadically enforced, the collection of jizya alone excepted. Not even

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1. Aurangzīb, I, 3-4; see also 4-7. The story told by Manucci of Aurangzīb's rebuke in open Court, given to one Mullā Ṣāliḥ, may have a kernel of truth (Manucci, II, 29-33); but the Emperor's forceful speech against his traditional and obscurantist teacher seems like a Livian oration. There was a Mullā Ṣāliḥ Badakhshānī presented to Aurangzīb in 1647, during the "muhimm-i-Balkh".

2. Manucci, II, 7-8 writes divertingly on the men of the Muhtasib's department cutting everybody's beard to "four finger-breadths".

3. Ma'āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī, (text) 174.

the sons of the righteous monarch followed him; so it is mentioned as thing remarkable, that when his wife Jahān-zeb Bānū Begam (daughter of Dārā) died of cancer in 1705, Prince Shāh 'Āzam "gave up hearing music and seeing dances, of which he (had been) very fond from his youth".<sup>1</sup>

As Dr Qureshī says,<sup>2</sup> "it is not easy to see the problems in a perspective other than the one to which one has been used"; we should follow the path of prudence, which would lead us to ascribe the delay in imposing the full external approaches of orthodoxy to the maturing of Aurangzīb's thoughts, as well as to his sense, however, defective, of what was politically expedient. Aurangzīb, in 1656, used the conventional vocabulary of abuse<sup>3</sup> to urge his father to annex the lands of the "heretic" king of Golconda; but this was one reason among many; the wealth of the Qutb Shāhī kingdom was clearly the real reason.<sup>4</sup>

The events of the war of succession are well enough known; Shāh Jahān's sudden illness, strangury and obstruction of the bowels, on 16 September 1657; his inability to appear in public, Dārā's close watch over him, and loving care, and the rumours that at once began to circulate; Dārā's assumption of all authority; the refusal of the three brothers to believe that the Emperor was still a free agent; the hints that he might be imprisoned or dead; the disorders that arose on all sides, even to a raid on northern Bengal by the Rāja of Kūch Bihār; and Shāh Shujā's assumption of the sovereignty of the entire empire in October, 1657, under the name of Abū'l Faiz Nāṣiru'd-din Muḥammad Ṣāhib-i-Qirān-i-ṣānī Shāh Shujā' Bahādur Ghāzī.<sup>5</sup> The *Ādāb* tells us what Aurangzīb thought of

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1. Ma'āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī, (text) 494.

2. The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent, 162.

3. e.g., Letter 101.

4. Letter 97.

5. cf the coin illustrated on the supplementary plate of Whitehead's Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore: Volume II, Mughal Emperors (Oxford 1914).

these events, and what measures he took; especially his correspondence with his brother Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh, viceroy of Gujarāt.

The Ādāb contains the negotiations for an accord between Aurangzīb and Murād Bakhsh to divide the empire.<sup>1</sup> It alludes to Murād's murder of 'Alī Naqī, the dīwān of the province, early in October 1657; it incorporates the actual agreement between the brothers, setting out the share that was to fall to Murād Bakhsh.<sup>2</sup>

In his correspondence with Murād,<sup>3</sup> Aurangzīb uses the standard stock of abusive language, when speaking of Dārā; but he discloses no special religious fervour. Much has been made of a visit the prince made to Shaikh Burhān, of the Shaṭṭarī order, just before he marched out of Burhānpūr on the way to Āgra, on 1 April 1658.<sup>4</sup> Aurangzīb besought the blessing of this holy man upon the enterprise of crushing Dārā, who had "abandoned Islām and turned his footsteps into the desert of error"; who "called disbelief and Islām twin brothers".<sup>5</sup> The Shaikh declined: "What is the use of the blessing (fātiḥa) of faqirs like us? You are king; recite the fatiḥa yourself with an intention to do justice and protect the people".<sup>6</sup> This conventional blessing implies neither praise nor blame. To call it a fatwa, a declaration of the law, is wrong.<sup>7</sup> Not only is there no evidence that the Shaikh issued a fatwa; to do so is in fact the prerogative of a muftī, a man qualified to expound the law. Ṣūfī saints do not usually claim that status.

1. Aurangzīb reports meeting with Murād to Shāh Jahān in January 1653: Letter 47.

2. The agreement is in I.O.; ff. 104A-105A.

3. The three letters are in I.O. ff. 238B-239A.

4. Ma'āṣir-i'Ālamgīrī, 5; it was on 25 Jumāda II, 1068, that he marched.

5. Abū'l Faẓl Ma'mūrī, "Tārīkh-i-Shāhjahānī", quoted by Rizvī, op.cit. 363n (Persian).

6. Khāfī Khān: Muntakh<sup>ab</sup>-u'l-lubāb, II, 11 (Rizvī, 371 n. (Persian))

7. Ghaurī, op.cit. 71, makes this mistake, and draws from it inferences that are quite erroneous.

8. Even the Mujaddid sought conformation of his interpretations of the law, from muftis of high standing.

Dr Iftikhār Aḥmad asserts that the Shaikh predicted victory for Aurangzīb;<sup>1</sup> but neither in Khāfi Khān nor in the continuation of Ṣādiq Khān do we find any ground for that allegation. Unfortunately, Dr Iftikhār Aḥmad reprimands Dr Śrī Rām Sharma for denying the prediction.<sup>2</sup> Regrettably, it is he, not Dr Sharma, who has fallen into error.

So vast was the erudition, so patient the industry, and so clear the conclusions of Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār, that since the first publication of his great History of Aurangzib almost all scholars have stood in his shade. The Cambridge History of India, indeed, has two chapters by Sir Jādūnāth on the Emperor's career; the Bhāratīya Vidya Bhavan's volume on the Mughuls, which might be expected to present the views of the vanguard of the Hindu Renaissance, has not yet appeared. I have not come across any recent historian (apart from the neo-Islamicists) who has deviated substantially from Sir Jādūnāth's judgement; where one might hope for a new interpretation of Aurangzīb's rise to power (as in Muhammad Mujeeb's "The Indian Muslims",<sup>4</sup> published in 1967 after twenty years of labour<sup>5</sup>) one finds a discreet silence. Maulānā Shiblī wrote, over sixty years ago, (1912) Aurangzīb 'Alamgīr par ek nazr; this Urdū work appears to contain all that the neo-Islamists have to say, without their apparatus of references to support it; Aurangzīb was a perfect Muslim; therefore a perfect man, and a perfect king.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Iftikhār Aḥmad, 78.

2. *ibid*, 78 n.2.

3. Chapters VIII & IX of vol. IV, which was published in 1937.

4. Mujeeb has been vice-chancellor of the Jāmi'a Millia University at Delhi, and is a faithful Congressman.

5. Oral communciation from Dr Rizvī, to whom the author is well known.

6. For example, the Maulānā finds that Akbar prevented the Hindus from stepping out of place (p.58) but that the selfish laxity of Jahāngīr, exemplified by his favour to the murderer Bīr Singh, led to usurpation of mosques, and ravishing of women, which Shāh Jahān stopped (p.60); yet Dārā's "heresy" encouraged a recrudescence, culminating in destruction of mosques, and Muslim boys being taught idolatry in Hindu schools. (p.62) Even this scandal was not touched until Aurangzīb had reigned twelve years.

See the brief remarks of Prof. A.B.M. Ḥabību'llāh in "Historians of India..." (ed. Philips) 490-491.



Opposed to this simple but comforting opinion, still held by the tradition-bound Muslim masses who see in Aurangzīb's life and reign an epoch of unparalleled glory in which they can vicariously partake, is a cooler and less uncritical opinion, which has taken its impression from the view of Aurangzīb formed by the earlier British historians. Culminating in the well-termed paragraphs of Lane-Poole, which for two generations were read by almost every student of history in Indian universities, this school of thought holds, in effect, that Aurangzīb's nature and character ensured that he could be nothing but a harsh tyrant towards his Hindu subjects. "There was nothing but his own conscience to prevent Aurangzīb from adopting the eclectic philosophy of Akbar, the luxurious profligacy of Jahangir, or the splendid ease of Shah-Jahan ..... Aurangzib did none of these things ... he chose [his] course, and adhered to it with unbending resolve through close on fifty years ..." <sup>1</sup> One may admire, but ought not sympathise with such unbending and uncomfortable obstinacy.

Among the liberally-educated and western-minded Hindu authors who were presented at their Universities with this unattractive picture of Aurangzīb, the prolific and industrious Śrī Rām Sharma claims most attention, and represents a more explicitly Hindu orientation than Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār. Thirty years younger than Sir Jādūnāth, he published in 1940 "The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors". <sup>2</sup> His deep study of all the printed sources available, and his familiarity (still normal then) with the history of Europe restrain him from the enthusiastic

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1. Lane-Poole, "Aurangzib", 65 ff. Fine writing has its own attractions, and the broad effect of Lane-Poole's picture is not totally inaccurate. The pioneer Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779-1859) was his exemplar: see for an evaluation of his work from an "Anglicist" standpoint, Philips' own contribution to "Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon", 217-229, especially 222-225; cf. his remarks on pp. 7 & 8. Elphinstone wrote for a small public, men interested in India; Lane-Poole wrote for a generation anxious to learn of the Empire "wider than has been." Both found Aurangzīb an unattractive personality; his attitudes were founded in beliefs disagreeable to prevalent ideas both of religious and political morality.

2. The second and revised edition (used by me) appeared in 1962.



condemnation of the Mughul treatment of Hindus which might have been heard without surprise from a veteran of the Ārya Samāj;<sup>1</sup> but his attitude is dispassionate, dry, and almost detached.<sup>2</sup> His careful gathering of examples of Aurangzīb's attitude to the observance of the Muslim law, to the employment of Hindus, and to the destruction of temples and levying of the jizya<sup>3</sup> is not to be set aside by indignant denunciation; but equally carefully, Śrī Rām Sharma points out that the evidence for Aurangzīb's motives is largely conjectural, however superficially convincing;<sup>4</sup> and that apparently his conception of his Islamic duty bulked larger in his mind than any wish to degrade his Hindu subjects. This conclusion is certainly appropriate for the last quarter-century of Aurangzīb's career; but a mere desire to enforce the holy law is not thought by all to be an adequate explanation, for it ignores the strong but not specifically religious Muslim tradition of positive solicitude for the moral and physical well-being of the ra'āya.<sup>5</sup>

1. cf his modest pride in the masses of "Hindu India", keeping their faith "amidst so many temptations and such persecution;" op.cit., 169.

2. And occasionally almost unrealistic: "He was a great scholar and a profound writer ... He is still honoured as a great writer, scholar, and religious leader". Thus does he appraise Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī; op.cit., 69. The point is also missed in the remark "Sri Ranga III of the Carnatic was attacked by 'Adil Khan. Pressed in from all sides he was promised safety on the renunciation of his religion and conversion to Islam." (ibid, 92) Though he refers to an unspecified ms of the Ādāb, Dr Sharma overlooks that Śrī Ranga offered himself as a convert, and ultimately received no promises. See Letters 83-85.

3. In four separate chapters: pp. 106-115, 118-123, 129-144 and 152-158.

4. op.cit., 176-177; cf. 158.

5. Hence, probably, Shiblī's attempt to explain away the order that Hindus not be employed. Such a general order was no doubt issued (M.A., 528 (text): "at a single stroke of the pin", Hindu writers were turned out. How far the order was enforced, whether sporadically or consistently, we cannot positively say. Shiblī, quoting a particular order of 1082/1671-2 preserved by Khāfī Khān, seeks to exclude the fact of a general order; he then excuses the order that the Hindu peshkārs and dīwāns of the ṣubahdārs and ta'luqa'dārs be

(continued on the next page)

Dr Sharma notices that Aurangzīb did not consider pomp and display incongruous with piety<sup>1</sup>, though later in his reign he modified many extravagant practices<sup>2</sup>. He notices also, that Aurangzīb's adhesion to the externals of Islamic law was really in the tradition of Muslim rulers, who accepted the law governing the personal status of their subjects, and in India did not (except perhaps once) attempt to change it<sup>3</sup>. Aurangzīb's innovation was to remit to the

(footnote continued from previous page)

be dismissed, by saying: "It is obvious that in these posts served many Kāyasthas, a race famous for taking bribes. The order had nothing to do with any religious difference." (op. cit., 62) The gratuitous ascription of motives has its pitfalls. In any case, the order soon lapsed (ibid. 63). The near-contemporary M.A. gives no clue (beyond generalities) of any particular attitude taken by Aurangzīb to Kāyasthas, or any other Hindu group. Indeed, Aurangzīb probably never intended to "extirpate" any Hindu group (cf. Ahkam, §30, p.88) and was well aware of the shortcomings of some of his Muslim subjects (ibid. §32, pp.78-79; cf. clause 9 of his possibly genuine will, p.48).

1. The sequel to the present work will show how Aurangzīb asserted to his officers his dignity as a prince. He used of himself the same language as Court etiquette prescribed for the Emperor - with the exception of zill ilahī and similar phrases. One example will serve for many. In a letter to Multafit Khān, he says that the Khān's report has "passed before Our luminous gaze", (I.O., fo., 198B) and that "that loyal servant's petition has become known to Our refulgent and resplendent mind" (ibid., 199A) A little later, he mentions Aurangābād (laid out by himself when first vice-roy of the Deccan on the site of Khirkī) as "Aurangābād of fortunate foundation; a less ebullient phrase certainly, but reflecting his own opinion as well as epistolary convention. A luminous gaze, and a refulgent mind, are attributes of the Creator, rather than of His creation.

2. Those put down in 1677 (M.A. 162) are mentioned; op.cit., 109, and cf. 112.

3. The one occasion was Shāh Jahān's order in 1633-34 that no Hindu family might place obstacles in the way of a convert to Islām op.cit., 90-91 and 180. This modified the Hindu law relating to distribution of property within a joint family. Under legislation of independent India, enacted in 1955, the rights of a member of a joint family are once again lost if he becomes a Muslim, a Christian, or a Buddhist - but Sikh converts were saved by a later amendment. The parallel between the Mughul ruler's position and Divine Right as understood in contemporary Europe is convincingly refuted by Dr Sharma: op.cit., 178-179. See also 183-184 and note, 186, for Aurangzīb's attempt to subject himself to the Muslim law as he saw it. He did not always purport to rule his nobles' conduct, nor even his family's : cf. his attitude to tolā-dān or wazn, abolished for himself but permitted for others: op.cit., 108.



'ulamā the ruler's right of selecting the precedent to be followed.<sup>1</sup>

But this respect to the expounders of the law did not reflect any new upsurge of morality among the masses,<sup>2</sup> who went their way unaffected by their ruler's example. No wishful thoughts by the modern orthodox can disguise the degeneration of the eighteenth century<sup>3</sup>, when Muslim society sank into inexorable decay, uninfluenced alike by the inanity of successive Emperors and the lonely grandeur of their Puritan ancestor.

The recent work of Waldemar Hansen is the first new general study of the Mughul Empire to appear in many years.<sup>4</sup> Though a lively and readable conspectus, based upon an overhauling of sources in English,<sup>5</sup> it seems to me to rely too much upon psychological insights, and offers no lead to a solution of any problem of Aurangzīb's policy, or his character. Hansen seems sympathetic to the Empire, but not to Aurangzīb, and must be classed generally as a follower of Sharma - insofar as he consciously follows any particular school.

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1. op.cit., 181. The very proper point is made that officers, generally, were not enthusiastic for positive indulgence to be shown to Hindus, nor likely to positively oppose Islamic pietism in their ruler: *ibid.*, 152-53.

2. Rizvī, *Muslim Rivivalist Movements*, 412-414, and cf. 375 for some remarks on Aurangzīb, presenting a milder picture of his true proclivities. Mujeeb's cautious presentation of the theme of Aurangzīb's inability to influence his subjects towards Islamic virtue is in *Indian Muslims*, 382-83.

3. Sadly but not unsympathetically described by Mujeeb: *Indian Muslims*, 381; 383-88. It is worth reflecting upon, that the eighteenth century - not the days of Akbar, not the days of Aurangzīb, still less the strenuous times of the expansion of the Delhi Sultanate - are looked on by the Muslim masses as the golden age of Muslim India, living on in song, story, and film. Aurangzīb is revered; but he is a hero of antiquity, impossible to imitate. Positive identification with the best ideals of the Mughuls is impossible. They and their loyal officers are ancient tales, remembered for trifles, not achievements. Cf. remarks in Rizvī & Flynn, "*Fathpūr-Sīkrī*": 1, 35-36, 54, 63.

4. *The Peacock Throne: the Drama of Mughul India* (London, 1972).

5. Thus he is aware of the existence of the *Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī*, though perhaps only as an album of letters to Shāh Jahān. He refers to certain letters translated in an Oriental miscellany published at Shrewsbury in 1800 by Jonathan Scott (1754-1829) which I have been unable to see. Might not these be the letters exchanged between the imprisoned Emperor and his son?

The work of Zahīru'd-dīn Fārūqī (Faruki) of Bombay, published in 1935,<sup>1</sup> is descended at one remove from Shiblī's school. A lawyer, he felt obliged to rescue Aurangzīb's reputation from the stigma of obstinacy and ultimate failure with which Sir Jādūnāth had (he thought) marked it. His book is essentially a re-working and re-presentation of the materials in his predecessor's great work, of which the last volume had appeared in 1930. To it he has added some notes of his own, some of value; but whatever is new relates to Aurangzīb as Emperor.

All in all, it is a measure of the deep and seemingly insuppressible conflicts that surge beneath the surface in India and Pakistan, and of the unfortunate identification of history with religion - or at least with an attitude towards religion - that so little has been done to analyse the origins and course of that Islamicist revival in politics which Aurangzīb initiated and which, for better or for worse, led to the ruin of the Mughul empire and the ultimate emergence of the present political configuration of the sub-continent. An essential tool in such an analysis will be an annotated translation of the entire *Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī*, the most useful and informative, indeed unequalled source for the earlier career of the principal mover of the fateful events of 1658. I hope I may be able to complete the task.

There is far more benefit to be had from such a translation, and its notes, than the elucidation of motives and attitudes. The careers of the nobles, high and less exalted, who attended upon Aurangzīb, served him, or merely crossed his path will become further<sup>and</sup> better known, which will allow a better-proportioned study of their influence and importance, and form a preface to Dr Athar 'Alī's valuable "The Mughul Nobility under Aurangzib" (Bombay, 1966). The details of the Qandahār campaign, so carelessly provided for and so irresponsibly managed, will enlarge our knowledge of Mughul military history, and perhaps allow some informed deductions to be made about the catastrophic decline in discipline and mobility over which Aurangzīb during fifty years as commander-in-chief, presided with apparent complacency,

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1. I have seen a Delhi reprint of 1972, but have used the original edition.



but deep inward concern. The most informative part of all will be the minute details of revenue and administration in the Deccan. To these Aurangzīb's letters to his father provide a synoptic introduction; even further detail will be found in his letters to his subordinates. Together with a thorough overhaul of the most fortunately-preserved documents of the dissolved Daftar-i-Dīwānī of Ḥaidarābād, an acceptable supplement could be made to the monumentally painstaking work of Dr 'Irfān Ḥabīb, "The Agrarian System of the Mughul Empire" (Bombay, 1963). Every aspect of the history of the period will be more fully lit by a patient study of the Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī.

Aurangzīb himself remains. Tense, controlled, watchful; quick and decisive in organisation, jealous of his honour and reputation, direct and forcible in speech and writing. His dour tenacity shows forth from every page; yet he is not without some softer feelings, mingled though they are with a tincture of self-justification, almost self-pity.<sup>1</sup> This correspondence of the last years of his youth shows the same character as the experienced, uncontradictable ruler who in the last days of his life, half a century later, retained the strength and fortitude to oversee all, to direct all. The better-known but little-studied collections of letters of Aurangzīb's declining days - scarcely anything of the intervening forty odd years remains - and the letters of the Ādāb display an identical, fully developed character.

"The Devil himself knoweth not the thought of man": none can say exactly when Aurangzīb resolved that he was to be Emperor. When he faced the elephant in 1633, his self-confidence must have been nearly complete; in 1644, when he sought to resign his father's service, he must have known his own worth; and by the end of 1652, as he marched away to the Deccan after meeting his sisters and his brothers, he must have chosen and resolved his destiny:

I know my fortune in extremes does lie  
The sons of Indostan must Reign, or die<sup>2</sup>

One son saw the prize, assessed it, resolved to have it, and won it; nor was his grasp ever weakened, nor his will shaken.

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1. Letters 36, 52, 64, and 72 exemplify different aspects of Aurangzīb's armour of self-defence.

2. Dryden, "Aureng-zebe", II, 539-40.

LETTER 1

This letter, the first of the series, was written early in July, 1650. It probably was preserved because it forms a complete episode in itself. The trouble given to settled government by the lawless tribes from Baluchistan to the Himalayas was the same in Mughul days as in modern times.

It is probable that Isma'il Haut duly submitted and gave no more cause for concern. By 1674 he seems to have been absorbed into the mansabdarī structure.

But Aurangzīb had another aim in mind. In British days, tribesmen were conciliated to protect settled lands against raids; the Mughuls were concerned, in the brief moments that they held the great trading mart of Qandahar, to secure free passage for caravans; and when they did not hold it, they never forgot the possibility of recovering it, by a coup de main if not by regular siege. Hence the reference, at the end of this letter, to the next "victorious expedition" and the help a contented and conciliated Haut chieftain might be able to give.

Memorial. (arzdāsh<sup>1</sup>) The humble suppliant, having brought the face of his supplication towards the threshold of that much-desired qibla, whose outer aspect and inner thoughts are the theatre of majesty; and having fulfilled the required formalities of submission and devotion [to that qibla] which is the guarantor of the felicity of the two worlās; begs to submit:

When this humble suppliant first had leave to depart from the seat of government at Lahore<sup>2</sup> to Multān, he had made submission about Isma'il Hūt<sup>3</sup>, who had been dependent in the past (az qadīm) upon the province of Multān, and who had recently claimed to be connected with the governor of the Panjāb. A noble order then had the honour to issue, [to the effect that] he should remain dependent upon the province of Multān, as in the past (ba ham ba dastūr).

1. This word actually appears here, in all mss; but never again. All subsequent letters to the Emperor are rubricated: ba-hazrat zill ilahī.

3. Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār has Hot; other modern authorities spell the name of this vanished tribe Hūt. In I.O. (but not B.M. or Rampur) a fatha and a jazm are clearly placed above the waw, making Haut.

2. He was there between 10 & 26 November 1649, after the first unsuccessful siege of Qandahar.

When he reached the vicinity of Multān, this humble suppliant appointed men to summon the zamīndārs [of the province], and sent one to Isma'īl too. But Isma'īl set up a letter of Dādā Bhāī<sup>1</sup> as an authority, and did not come.<sup>2</sup>

This murīd wrote an account of the affair to Sa'du'llāh Khān, so that he might lay it before your Majesty and send a reply; but, since no reply was received, the right moment for admonishing him went by; so his punishment was postponed for the time being (dar ān ayyām).

This fact became the cause of [further] insolence and boldness, (jasārat wa dilīri) and he stretched his trespassing hand into the territory (wilāyat) of Mubārak Belūch. Three of Mubārak's forts were occupied by him. When Mubārak informed this murīd of Isma'īl's high-handedness (tazallum), Basad, an Afghān who was already on the way to Bābri to investigate [this affair], was ordered to put an end to the dispute. On arrival, he took the forts by force, restored them to Mubārak, and made Isma'īl undertake not to repeat such conduct (dīgar pirāmūn-i-in harkat nagardad).

Before Mubārak Belūch returned to see this murīd, Isma'īl, whose mind had become disturbed through the heated fumes of his conceit, (bukhār-i-pindār) and who had not got the punishment he deserved (ba saza-i-kardār-i-khud narasīda būd), was incited by certain men to break the pledge he had just given, and once again seized from Mubārak's men the control of the forts already mentioned. Isma'īl's recalcitrance had now exceeded all limits; the smoke of his pride had concealed from the sight of his eye the path of rectitude; and Mubārak became, through his oppression, a petitioner for justice once again.

1. Aurangzīb always refers thus to Dārā Shikoh (when he names him at all) and the usage was obviously that of the family. Dādā in Hindī means both a grandfather and an elder brother (Platts, 499-500, s.v.) and is still a term of deep respect.

2. Isma'īl later presented Dārā with a valuable horse; Sarkar, Aurangzīb I, 270, n., quoting Wāriṣ, 85a. An "Isma'īl Hut, "zamindār of Multān" was sent back (from near Hasan Abdal) to his home on Tuesday, 23 June 1674/29 Rabi'I 1085, and received the title of Khān and a horse" Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī, (text) 132.



This murīd commissioned his servant Shaikh Mīr<sup>1</sup> to go with an army to chastise him severely [lit., to chastise and punish him] and to awaken him from his dreams of heedlessness and seize the forts. But when Shaikh Mīr [lit., "the afore-said",] entered that territory with his force [lit., "companions"]. Isma'īl could not summon up (nadīda) courage to face him, and abandoned those forts. Through the divine guidance he consented to an interview with Shaikh Mīr, and expressed his intention of visiting Multān.

Shaikh Mīr gave Isma'īl hopes of pardon for his criminal faults (jura'im wa taqṣīrāt); and on the first day of the revered month of Rajab<sup>2</sup> he brought Isma'īl with him to this servant.

Because he is a celebrated zamīndār, and his lands are very well populated, bordering the territory of the Nauhānīs; because he keeps a strong force by his side; and because he entirely regrets (nādim wa pishmān) his past offences; Isma'īl, if an order couched in conciliatory language (farman-i-'ināyat 'anwān) should obtain the honour of issue upon the subject of reconciling him, might perform prodigies of valour (murāsīm-i-jān-fishānī ba-jā āwurda) in expeditions against the Nauhānīs. And he might also make great efforts in bringing up provisions when we launch our victorious expedition against Qandahār (dar yasāq-i-zāfar masāq-i-Qandahār)<sup>3</sup>.

[This letter lacks a formal ending].

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1. Shaikh Mīr, Khwāfi "a Saiyid of pure lineage", was Aurangzib's "teacher" (Manucci, Storia I, 230) and confidant. He was told off to arrest Shah Nawaz Khan Ṣafawī, Aurangzib's father-in-law, when Aurangzib set out to fight for the crown; he was killed in battle against Dārā's forces at Deorai on 23 March 1659. Throughout his life Aurangzib referred to him with affection, and was always ready to show kindness to the natives of Khwaf. There is a life in Ma'āsiru'l 'Umarā, II, 668-670. His brother, Saiyid Mīr, became Amir Khan under Aurangzib, and died as Governor of Kābul in 1081 H/ 1670-71: ibid, II, 476 ff.

2. 30 June 1650. 1649 is out of the question, as Aurangzib was at Qandahār.

3. Chaudhurī omits Qandahār. Does he imagine that the sentence referred only to a punitive expedition against the Nauhānīs?



LETTER 2

This letter must be dated after the previous one describing the submission of Isma'īl Haut, yet before the next one, which was written on or after 7 December 1650 and acknowledges the summons to an audience at Court. As it expressly says "now is not the time for campaigning", it probably belongs to the weeks before the end of September, while the heat in the rough, bare, and waterless hills of the ranges north of Kalāt - the Brāhui, Toba, and Kākar ranges - is at its zenith, and the difficulties of finding forage most acute.

The procedure Aurangzīb outlines for "bringing in" an independent tribal chieftain was standard in Mughul and British times both; the conciliatory letter from the man in authority, the request that an envoy be sent to bear and carry back an oral message as well as a sense of respect for the power behind it; the intervention of an influential fellow-countryman, already mediatized; and behind it all the threat of force. Being summoned to Court, and then directly concerned with building up his forces for the second Qandahār campaign, Aurangzīb was unable to chastise Ālam in the following cold weather; but he does not forget him.

In the manuscripts, and in Chaudhurī's edition, this and the next letter are transposed. The correct order is restored here.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God.

This murīd begs to submit, that the exalted farmān, written by a munshī and sealed ("adorned") with the imperial sign-manual, which had acquired the honour of being issued in response to his petition, has scattered at a grace-revealing hour the brilliance of its arrival. After complying with the formalities of salutation [this murīd] found himself gratified upon the receipt of that singular gift. How can he return thanks for the arrival of the exalted farmān, which was issued in conformity with his desires? Or for the [imperial] munificence, the abounding (lit., "special choice of"), graciousness, and the tenderness to servants which are brought forth out of a store of fatherly affection and solicitude for the most insignificant beings?

Having sent the felicitous farmān to the aforesaid<sup>1</sup> for the sake of augmenting his own dignity and honour, through a trusted person [this murīd] wrote a nishān to him, in accordance with the imperial command, on the matter of conciliating 'Ālam Nauḥānī, saying that he should send one of his associates with [this murīd's] messengers so that this murīd might send them back to 'Ālam Nauḥānī, with a view to directing him to the path of good fortune, and causing him to set off for Multān, by making him acquainted with the principles of hope and fear.

Through Isma'īl's<sup>2</sup> mediation, 'Ālam Nauḥānī had previously sent this murīd a petition, asking that a conciliatory nishān should be sent to him too; so that, becoming confident [of a good reception] he might depart for Multan with the feel of submission and obedience.

Hail to the qibla of the world and its inhabitants! The real state of the Nauḥānī road, described in detail in the exalted farmān, were not known to this murīd before its arrival ("up to this time"). Otherwise, when the spring crops were yet unharvested and when an army was being sent to the territories of Isma'īl Haut to suppress the uprising of Mubārak Belūch, a force would have been sent against 'Ālam too. He would have been brought willy-nilly before this murīd, just as Isma'īl was; or else he would have been made an exile in the wilderness of misfortune;<sup>3</sup> and the victorious army would have passed by that way to the reduction of Qandahār without any fear.<sup>4</sup>

But now is not the time for campaigning (alḥāl chūn hangām-i-suwārī nīst); and, besides, the aforesaid 'Ālam, who all this time has been drinking water without restraint (āb bī-lajam khwūrda), would not condescend to come to this murīd all at once.

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1. ba mumīlālaihi. Almost certainly Isma'īl Haut. An imperial farmān was probably sent to him (with a letter to Aurangzīb, not preserved) when the Emperor received news of his submission in July, 1650.

2. sc, Isma'īl Haut.

3. ū rā nīz kam nā kam miāwurdand, ya awāra'-i-ṣahra'-i-idbār mīsākhtand. When Aurangzīb recurs to this subject over a year later, in Letter 9, he uses almost the same language.

4. sc, of marauding attacks by 'Ālam's men.

Were an imperial order, to the effect that part of the victorious army should move towards Qandahār through the maḥāls of his zamīndārī,<sup>1</sup> obtain elegance by being issued, this murīd will despatch an army to march against him in two or three months, when the campaigning season returns. (ki vaqt-i-suwārī barasad) Thus he will be brought to Multān by force; (khwāh nā khwāh) or else he will be thrust forth from his territories (az sarzamīn-i-khwūdāsh badār kunand).

When his business is brought to a satisfactory end (lit., "when the heart reaches a condition of tranquillity on his part") the victorious armies might proceed by that route; however, what Your Majesty commands will be done (lit., "whatever is the exalted order").

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1. From what has gone before, it is clear that 'Ālam was not a manṣabdar, nor was his territory under Mughul administration. He was an independent tribal leader. The language of settled government is used of him because the Mughuls conceived of themselves as the only fount of honour; to admit a title to land or dignity not derived from the Emperor would derogate from the Imperial claim to absolute power.

LETTER 3

This letter begins with an announcement that Aurangzib has begun a march to the new capital of Shahjahanabad for an audience with his father. Permission was doubtless already granted, though the letter acknowledging receipt of the eagerly-sought permission is not preserved.

But there is more interest in Aurangzib's account of the successful punitive expedition led by Malik Husain against unruly elements in the Kirthar and Pab ranges, north-west of Tatta. The names of the various protagonists - unknown to history but for these letters - show that the process of Islamisation in these tracts was still not complete.

The brief notice of the expedition of Amir Khan's sons against a petty Cutchi freebooter seems likewise to have been a success. Cutch was never in fact administered by the Mughuls, but they had a faujdar in Junagarh, and a not very prolific mint. A disputed succession at Junagarh was settled by the faujdar's intervention in 1663 (Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri, (text) 42). The name Islamnagar, which Aurangzib then ordered given to Junagarh, did not survive, as his coins alone prove.

It is submitted that his longing to obtain the happiness of kissing the exalted threshold, and of prostrating [himself] at that lofty portal which is the main object (qibla) of the attention of the kings of the inhabited earth, (rub'-i-maskun) has deprived this murid of patience and endurance to such an extent that he has been made a seeker, like a speck of dust [in a beam of light], for the light of the world-illuminating sun. With his desire alone he is inevitably dissatisfied; therefore out of genuine loyalty and sincere devotion, he has made his outer aspect and inner thoughts ready to receive the superabundant blessings of his true preceptor and guide in temporal and spiritual matters. He has conscientiously arranged (khātir ...wā pardākhta) for the welfare and good government of these territories [during his absence]; and on the 14th Zī'l Hijja<sup>1</sup> he put on the ceremonial garment for circumambulating that angel-guarded portal [which resembles] the holy Ka'ba; and came forth from the town [of Multan].

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1. The date was 7 December 1650 and the Hijri year 1060. Chaudhuri has an unacknowledged misprint in his introductory note: 1040.



He hopes, that the astrologers of the stirrup of felicity will select, in conformity with the world-obeyed commands, an hour for paying his respects [and offering] unfeigned worship; so that this devoted murīd, who recognizes that to follow the will of that preceptor and guide of mortal men is the capital of the fortune of the two worlds, might, at the auspicious time, having made the forehead of his sincerity luminous with the sijdas of servitude, fulfil the wishes of two worlds.

Hail to the qibla of the world and of all who dwell in it! This murīd had previously informed your Majesty by letter that the rebellious Nuhmardīs and Jugias, who inhabit the hilly tracts of the province of Tatta, had not exhibited adequate obedience to any former governors; and their regular pursuit is robbery and plunder (lit., "they daily cause to happen perpetual robbery and plunder").<sup>1</sup>

Malik Husain<sup>2</sup> went to chastise and punish them with such forces as he had; and it became clear, while he was away ("all this time"), [both] from his own reports and [those of] the local news-writer, that he had penetrated ten marches beyond the boundaries of [the province of] Tatta, to Kāhirah and Bela<sup>3</sup>, which are the refuges of the Nuhmardī and Jugīah tribes; and caused to be proclaimed [there] the khutba of your sacred Majesty's renowned name and title.

1. This and the remaining paragraphs of the letter are translated by Dr. Mu'īnu'l Haq in his "Prince Awrangzib", pp.25-26.

2. Like Shaikh Mīr, he was a Saiyid and a native of Khwaf, in the south-western part of Khurasān. He was born about 1615, and was foster-brother (Koka, Kokaltash) to Aurangzib; that is, he was taken into the prince's household, as Mughal tradition required, as a slightly older play-mate & friend. When Aurangzib rebelled, he was ennobled as Bahādur Khān; in 1673, he was advanced to the higher title of Khān-i-Jahan. He died in 1697; his death is related in the Ma'asir-i-'Ālamgīrī (text, 237) and by Manucci, Storia, III, 425-6, with a curious and possibly genuine anecdote of Aurangzib's visit to his death-bed. Anecdotes of his harsh government, pride, bold speech, and aggressively unintellectual tastes are numerous. One such is in Ahkam-i-'Ālamgīrī, ed. & trans. Sarkar, para. 37, p.83. The older he grew, the more difficult he seemed to be (cf Manucci, Storia, III, 421-2; Ma'asir-i-'Ālamgīrī (text) 168. His life, with further anecdotes, is in Ma'asiru'l Umara, I, 798-813, under his final title Khān-i-Jahan Bahādur Zafar Jang Kokaltash. As he was called to Court in Shah Jahan's 27th year, with the lowish rank of 800/100, he does not appear in the Deccan correspondence.

3. Bela lies some 75 miles N.-W. of the modern Karāchī, then an inconsequential village.

And at that place Hārūn, and Khatarmal the brother of Kānhū, and Majar, [all] leaders of the Nuhmardīs, submitted, together with the supporters of the chief men of the Jugiahs, and agreed to pay tribute. Ja'far the Nuhmardī, who is the son-in-law of Mān Singh, zamindar of Banjor, Kich and Makrān; [and] from his tribe and sons of "Alī and Kārānī, who are notables of those parts, Hājī Roncha, Jām, and a large number of the leading men of that territory, who from the time of the Tarkhāns<sup>1</sup> until now had acknowledged no overlord, placed the head of submission upon the letters of command.

A Nuhmardī named Maddah<sup>2</sup>, who belonged to ("is dependent upon") the hill-country of the province of Qandahār, was the leader of the disaffected in this district. He had crossed his own boundaries for the sake of plunder and had come towards Kāhirah and Bela. Upon the arrival of the victorious army he fled to the mountains and wilderness. Malik Husain therefore sent a detachment from the army to chastise him, guided by the zamīndārs of those places; which reached his encampment after a forced march of 70 cos, early that morning. Maddah came out to fight; but he became, with his followers, the food of the blood-drinking sword. Forty odd people, including his daughter, were captured; and the victorious army, taking possession of the prisoners and the cattle, returned, conquering and triumphant, to its camp.

Meanwhile Mān Singh, who has been mentioned already, reported both by his agents and by letters that in Banjor<sup>3</sup> and Kich and Makrān the khutba of the rule of your Imperial Majesty's name had been proclaimed ("became delightful to the sense of hearing").

1. az'ahd-i-hukkām-i-Tarkhān. B.M. has a gloss: Bādshahān-i-Tatta. The last ruler of the line, established by his grandfather in 1553, was Jānī Beg, who was deposed by Akbar in 1001/1592-3.

2. This seems a better form than "Madh" adopted by Dr. Mu'īnu'l Haq ("Prince Awrangzīb", 25).

3. This is probably Panjgur, at the western end of the valley between the Siahan and Central Makrān ranges in Belūchistan. The ms. reading Banjor should be replaced by Panjor.

After gaining this victory through the imperishable good fortune of the guide and preceptor of mortals, the triumphant army returned from that region towards Tatta.

Hail to the qibla of the faith and of the world! Satā, the son of Jām Hāla the zamīndār of Kakrāla<sup>1</sup>, who through the divine guidance had seen Malik Ḥusain, set off at this time for Multān, for the sake of improving his condition. His brother, the accursed Kāhba, who lives on the periphery of Cutch, out of his own ill-nature and through the seductive blandishments of the local zamīndār, collected a force, and entered the said parganah. He was planning to plunder it; but the slaves of the lofty threshold (especially Ziyā'u'd-dīn Yūsuf and Abu'l Makārim the sons of Amīr Khān) marched rapidly with a military detachment, which Malik Ḥusain had left in the city as a precautionary measure<sup>2</sup>, and gun-boats (ghurabhā) to expel that God-forsaken wretch. His courage failing, he fled (ū tāb niyāwurda rāh-i-idbār pesh girift.) Peremptory orders were issued to them to devote all their energies to extirpating the seeds of that accursed man's sedition.

[This letter lacks a formal ending].

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1. Dr. Mu'īnu'l Ḥaq makes his name out as Sattahālah, following Nadwī, whose text is corrupt: Sattahāla wald-i-zamīndār-i-Kakrāla. Chaudhurī's ms appears to read Mastāhāla wald-i-Zamīndār-i-Kakrāla, but he has emended to Mastā wald-i-Jām Hāla. Mastā could possibly be right; but all three of my mss render the name as Satā. Jām is a common title of petty potentates in Cutch and Kathiawar; the Jām Ṣāhib of Nāvanagar, a state on the north-west of Kathiawar, facing the Gulf of Cutch, was a Muslim. The title was possibly derived from the notion of "birth" (janam): succession from father to son. Hāla is rendered by Sarkār as "Halar",: Aurangzib, III, 40.

2. The reference must be to the city of Tatta. Bhūj, then the principal city of Cutch, was not under Mughul administration. The words of the text are: "... juma'ī az sipāh, ki Malik Ḥusain barāye ihtiyāt dar shahr guzashta..." The precaution was justified; the freebooting chieftain appeared again about five years later, bold as ever. Munshī Abu'l Fath writes to inform his master: "A ship which was building [for you] at Tatta under the charge of Mughul Khān was half finished, when it fell into the hands of the Zamīndār of Kakrāla pargana. Taken [from him], it was confiscated to the Khālīṣa." I.O., fo. 262 A-B. The Munshī continues with a proposal to recompense Aurangzīb. The reference is an important addition to the evidence of princes' private trading; it shows that even when he had no direct authority in Tatta, Aurangzīb was able to order a ship built there, and have an imperial manṣabdār supervise the work - the ṣūbahdār himself. See the introductory note to Letter 9.



LETTER 4

In all the mss, in Nadwī's selections, and in Chaudhurī's edition, the following letter 4 and letter 5 are transposed. Reference to the dates, and the stages of the march, show this arrangement to be mistaken. In his introductory note to the next letter (4 in his numbering) he dates Aurangzīb's departure from Multān to 14 Zīl Hījja 1040 - a regrettable misprint.

It is worth noting that Aurangzīb did not cut across the Indus towards Bhaṭinda and Ḥiṣār, and so to Delhi; that march, of about 275 miles, would have taken him through a route dry at the best of times, in use during the Delhi Sultanate, but now of secondary importance and unprovided with the amenities of the route north-east to Lahore (about 175 miles) and south-east again to Delhi (some 225 miles, whether by way of Bhaṭinda or Sirhind). Even when marching to the Deccan in 1652, under order to make the greatest speed, Aurangzīb was concerned at the danger his family and dependants might run in avoiding the swing to the east along the high road through Sirhind, and cutting due south from Ludhiāna through the Lakhī Jungle; see Letter 43, *infra*.

Since this letter reports the progress of Aurangzīb's march to the audience he had so eagerly solicited, it is confined to commonplaces. Aurangzīb's suggestion that he was delayed in starting from Multān by the "ill-provisioned" (bi-sāmānī) state of the army raises the possibility of complaint; from which, it would appear, the Emperor forebore.

The Harappa at which the Emperor's letter, disclosing the moment of audience, reached Aurangzīb on 19 December, 1650 is the well-known site of the Indus valley city. Not yet plundered for bricks for the Lahore-Multān railway, its mounds must have been conspicuous objects. The Court's minute reliance upon astrologers, in which Aurangzīb acquiesces, will be met with again.

The pomegranates requested by the Emperor would have graced his morning levée; and the rock-melons, although inferior, might have been distributed to countries of lower rank. In adding something of his own to what he had been commanded to send, Aurangzīb is offering a courtesy that was almost expected.



To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

This devoted servant informs your most sacred Majesty, that the exalted and felicitous farmān addressed to him, through [your Majesty's] perfect benevolence and solicitude for the most insignificant beings, together with papers, [disclosing] the grace-revealing hour which the astrologers of the refulgent court had chosen for that [expression of] entire obedience, his [proposed] audience, distributed the nobility of arrival on the happy evening of Monday, the 24th Zi'l Hijja,<sup>1</sup> at the station (manzil) of Harappa.<sup>2</sup> [They came] at a time when the clouds of divine compassion were purging forth mercy; and they lavished mercy upon mercy.

He has performed with true sincerity and loyalty the ritual prostrations of gratitude to God (may his name be magnified!) and the salutations due to the benevolence of his true [temporal] lord (may his shadow be lengthened!).

A noble order received magnificence by being brought, that if this murīd would show speed in coming, he would be able to obtain the good fortune of an audience at an auspicious hour.

Hail to the gibla of the world and its inhabitants! Since this poor forsaken murīd was overcome by the desire to kiss the lofty threshold, he wished to hasten to the attainment of this supreme boon, and arrive at the earliest moment possible for the audience with your Majesty.

But an imperial order was issued, that he should approach stage by stage; and delay and procrastination have occurred, because of several matters relating to the administration of the state; besides, the army and men have fallen into an ill-provisioned state. (wa bī-sāmānī-i-lashkar wa mardum 'alāwa-i-ān gashta).

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1. 19 December, 1650.

2. In the mss, Harapa without tashdīd.

Through the generosity of the Lord Almighty and the benevolence of the preceptor and guide of heaven and earth he hopes, that an auspicious hour, and on an occasion which the astrologers ("star-gazers") of the sublime court will select, he may fulfil his desire of performing the ceremony, associated with prosperity, of kissing the [imperial] foot, and succeed in acquiring the good fortune of the two worlds.

The world-obeyed order which was attached [to the exalted farmān] commanded this least of murīds to send to the court, the refuge of rulers, the seedless pomegranate of Tattah, which is superior to the Jalālābād pomegranate. This pleasure-promoting message made him delighted and exultant. The rock-melon (kharbūza) of Bhakkar is almost as bad this year as the Kabul variety (imsāl dar zabūnī ba kharbūza-i-Kābul nazdīk ast); however your humble servant sends [some], out of his devotion to the all-joyful court.

He [now] finishes [his petition] with prayers, recognizing that further words would overstep the bounds of good manners.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ziyāda bī-adabī az adab dūr dīda, ba du'ā khatam namūd. This form of conclusion, resembling the polite formulae of elegant Urdū, is unusual in Aurangzīb's correspondence.

LETTER 5

On the first day of the Hijrī year 1061 (Christmas Day, 1650) Aurangzīb received a robe of honour at Icchrah, a suburb north-east of Lahore. He had marched approximately 100 miles in six days. The two gardens he visited appear not to survive. They are not to be identified with those now known as Shālīmār, which contained the tomb of Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān, and would not have had an "auspicious royal bedroom". Rather, like the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra, or that of Aurangzīb's mother at Āgra (Letter 45, *infra*) would it have been regarded as a shrine.

'Alī Mardān Khān, who had betrayed Qandahār to Shāh Jahān in 1638, and who was Sūbahdār of Kashmīr, was doubtless writing in Lahore; as he had been when he set off on his last journey, in April 1657. Dārā Shikoh was Sūbahdār of Lahore; cf Letter 1, *supra*. It would have been 'Alī Mardān Khān's duty, even as the senior noble of the Empire, to wait upon the Prince as he passed through; hence he accompanied him in his perambulations through the Imperial gardens.

To his Majesty, the Shadow of God!

This [murīd] informs your Majesty, that at the station of Icchrah<sup>1</sup> on the morning of Sunday, the first of the venerable month of Muḥarram,<sup>2</sup> he was honoured by the arrival of a special robe of honour for the winter, a gift of perfect favour and kindness. Having offered the formal greetings of submission and the salutations of true devotion, he has sweetened his tongue with the acknowledgment of the kindnesses and favours of his true preceptor and guide. Since the hour of the wholly fortunate audience was near, and his craving to attain [the honour of] kissing the feet of your Majesty had become dominant, he set out without delay on the following day. He spent a little time viewing the Faiz Bakhsh and the Farāh Bakhsh gardens, which are above praise and beyond description, and moved on to the [next] stage. The Arm of the Caliphate,

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1. I.O. Incchra. Chaudhuri has "Ichhra jo Lāhor ke muḥāfāt men se hai" in a footnote, and the same spelling in his text.

2. 25 December, 1650.

'Alī Mardān Khān,<sup>1</sup> the Amīru'l Umara', who accompanied [this murīd] in promenading through the gardens, took his leave there.

Hail to the giblah of the world and its inhabitants! It was not the time of the garden's [greatest] luxuriance, or the full greenness of the trees; but the trefoils (sih barg)<sup>2</sup> and narcissus flowers were flourishing; the fountain and the cascade were playing splendidly, and the pleasure-embodying buildings looked brilliantly white; it was not less [beautiful] than [at the time of] the bounties of spring.

Near the auspicious royal bedroom, (khwābgāh-i-mubārak) mandarins and oranges were growing in profusion, and there was a riot of colour on the left and right sides of the two raised walks. In several places, the stone-carving on the building (naqqāsh-i-'imārat) had been damaged (zabūn shuda) and had lost (az raunaq uftāda)<sup>3</sup> its beauty; men are now busy, in accordance with the exalted and lofty command, at its restoration and polishing (dastkārī wa pardākht-i-ān mushghil and).

May the ever-blooming rose-garden of the sultanate and [its] prosperity remain always green and verdant through the rivers of the Lord Almighty's bounty!

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1. He died on 27 April, 1657, while returning from Lahore to his charge in Kashmīr. A life is in M.U., II, 295-298 (text).

2. Sih barg, with the figure 3 written in, occurs in B.M. & R. Is it a type of fine flowering clover?

3. One can only conjecture that frost had damaged sandstone carvings in high relief. Less likely is stone mosaic, by Shāh Jahān's time already somewhat old-fashioned. Tile-work, which had reached such perfection in Persia, and of which some contemporary specimens survive in Lahore, was more liable to damage by frost; but naqqāshī seems not an appropriate term for it. The only other possibility is painting; but damage to internal wall-paintings suggests either structural defect or deliberate destruction.



## LETTER 6

Aurangzīb has completed his visit to Court, where he had spent six weeks, and was returning by the same route, through Sirhind and Lahore, to Multān. On 6 March 1651, he reached Sirhind.

Sirhind contained the tomb of Shaikh Aḥmad Fārūqī Sirhindī (1564-1623) perhaps the city's most famous son. As Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sānī, "the renovator of the second millenium", he worked up the traditions of Naqshbandī sufism, in which he had been brought up, into a sense of an uniquely personal mission to restore the minute observance of the Shāri'a exterminate heresy, and degrade and depress the Hindus. This would be achieved by influencing the leading nobles, even the Emperor himself; and the personal pre-eminence and exact obedience which the Shaikh claimed were further justified by the mystic exaltation he believed he had enjoyed.

Had his teachings or his reputation inspired in Aurangzīb any admiration, or even interest, a visit to his tomb might have been expected; Aurangzīb did not disdain to visit holy men<sup>1</sup>, nor reject the strictly uncanonical practice of circumambulating their tombs,<sup>2</sup> and when he was the Emperor regularly showed his respect for the pious, alive or dead; he even visited Shaikh Saifu'ddīn Sirhindī in 1669.<sup>3</sup> But Aurangzib evidently cared little for the teachings and the personality of his grandfather, the self-styled Mujaddid; in March 1676 he was to spend two days in a garden at Sirhind, and visit other tombs, but not Shaikh Aḥmad's, so now he ignored the blessings he might have earned at the Shaikh's tomb, and dallied in the garden. Perhaps it was the Nau-Lakha; but there were other gardens in Sirhind, all ravaged by the Sikhs in 1710, and all destroyed in the general ruin they brought upon the city in 1763.

1. There is the well-known example of his seeking the favour of Shaikh Burhān Shattarī of Burhānpūr, when early in 1658 he was about to set off to make his bid for the throne.

2. From the Ma'āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī may be gleaned a note of four visits to the famous dargāh of Mu'īnu'd-dīn Chishtī at Ajmīr: 19 February 1679 (text, 172), 25 September, 1679 (text 181), 22 March 1680 (text, 191) and finally on marching against Akbar, 13 January 1681 (text, 200). There is no mention of a last visit when starting for the Deccan on 8 September, 1681 (text, 213). Dr S.A.A. Rizvi has collected other examples of such visits: Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India, p. 390. Following regular practice, and fulfilling inevitable expectation, he would leave a large cash donation; five, or even ten thousand rupees.

3. Ma'asiru'l Umara (text) 84.

4. Futūhāt-i-'Ālamgīrī as referred to in Rizvi (op.cit.) 390, n.2; M.A. (text 154) does not mention the stages of the four-week journey from Lahore to Delhi.

To his Majesty, the Shadow of God!

The humble murīd, having exhibited the customary courtesies<sup>1</sup> and made the salutations of devotion out of the sincerity of his intention and the purity of his purpose, brings the memorandum of his desire to the post of the increasers of happiness of the most sacred and lofty court, which is the summit of the desire of murīds.

In these times, which are the peak of good fortune (farkhunda-anjām) [this murīd] reached Sirhind,<sup>2</sup> by the divine grace and the favour of his true preceptor and guide, on the happy morning of Monday, the twelfth<sup>3</sup> of Rabī' I in the [present] year.<sup>4</sup>

He there occupied himself in viewing the delight-increasing gardens, and enjoying the elegant buildings. The small garden, which has been laid out in connection with the auspicious bath-house, (ghuslkhāna-i-muhāarak) is in a state of perfect freshness. Although almond-blossom time is past, (shigūfa-i-bādām guzashta ast) the peach-blossoms are splendid. The tulips, too, are most colourful and attractive.

[This murīd's] hope is, that [the garden] may soon obtain bloom and freshness anew, upon the fortunate arrival associated with grace, through an inspection which will have upon it the effect of alchemy (manzūr-i-naẓr-i kīmīya-aṣār gashta)<sup>5</sup>.

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1. Ch. omits irādat from ādāb-i-irādat wa taslīmat.

2. I.O. has the form Sihhind.

3. B.M. has du shamba duāzda wa yakum.

4. Ch. adds "28" but omits sanah.

5. For gashta, B.M. has guzashta.

May the rose-garden of the Sultanate, and its  
imperishable good fortune, remain ever green<sup>1</sup> and  
flourishing!<sup>2</sup>

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1. Mss sabz: except B.M.'s marginal gloss sairāb.

2. And so concludes Aurangzīb's report of his visit to Sirhind. Chaudhurī, who might have been expected to mention any possible connection between Aurangzīb and Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī, judiciously confines his introductory note to the beauties of the gardens.

Only one Naqshbandī is mentioned in Aurangzīb's letters to his father, and he was not related, and possibly only remotely connected, with Shaikh Aḥmad. This is Khwāja Barkhwurdar (c.1600 - after 1660). See Letters 66 and 70 (with notes on his career) 87, and 88. In youth, he had some share of the Shaikh's hardihood; see the note to Letter 66.

LETTER 7

Aurangzib has now passed through Lahore and is marching down the right bank of the Ravī. He expects to cover the distance, approximately 175 miles, in nineteen days, including his halt for one day on the outskirts of Lahore. He would have encamped outside the city, without entering it; to occupy the Imperial palace, he would have had to solicit special leave, and he would not have wished to place himself in Dārā's debt by using one of the mansions which Dārā's agents could have placed at his disposal.

The numerous variants in the Haidarābād text of this letter, (such as "Aljhera" and "ten stages more") are of considerable interest.

To his Majesty, the Shadow of God!

The devoted murīd, having kissed the ground of service with the lip of good manners, and having performed the requirements of devotion, and offered the salutations of submission, informs the grace-scatterers of the refulgent court, which is all joy, that the exalted farmān,<sup>1</sup> adorned with graciousness, which was written by the blessed pen out of the completeness of [Your Majesty's] solicitude for the least of beings, and tenderness towards murīds, distributed nobility by its arrival on Tuesday, the 28th of Rabī' I,<sup>2</sup> at the station of Sadhārdalū,<sup>3</sup> and gave him great pleasure (sa'adat-afza gasht).

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1. Down to this point, Hyd. reproduces the introduction to the previous letter.

2. 22 March, 1651.

3. Hyd. has Sadhārde'o; so has Ch.; so has N., without noting any variant. I.O. seems to read similarly (fo-5A, line 15) but B.M. has Sadhārdalū, and R's elongated lām is unmistakable.



In what words can he give thanks for this liberality and condescension, which far exceeds any ambitions<sup>1</sup> which murīds are capable of forming?

Verse: The tongue cannot return thanks to thy threshold; (janābat)<sup>2</sup>

Not even if a hundred men like me were to make a speech with each breath.

Hail to the true preceptor and guide! This sincere-hearted murīd crossed [the Ravī] from Lahore, the capital, on the 23rd of the above month, and reached the outskirts of Abjerah.<sup>3</sup> There he stayed for one day, to deal with several matters of importance; the next day he moved his camp, and passed through Panj Grāmī while hunting. At the third stage [of the journey] he boarded a boat (ba kishtī nashist). God willing, and through the favour of the [Imperial] heart, the abode of angels [this murīd] will reach the boundary of his jāgīr in two more stages; and on the 11th of Rabī' II<sup>4</sup> will enter the abode of security, Multan.

After his arrival, he shall despatch without delay to the Court, the refuge of rulers, Malik Husain Abdālī,<sup>5</sup> accompanied by some trusted men, in accordance with imperial orders.

May the sun of the Sultanate and of [its] dominion continue to shine in the skies of its good fortune (maṭla'-i-iqbāl) and universal victory (kishwar-satānī).

1. Hyd. ḥausila, with sīn for ṣād.

2. Hyd. (and Ch.!) have jihat.

3. Hyd. has Aljhera.

4. SC., 3 April, 1651. This makes possible Hyd.'s reading ba dah manzil-i-dīgar, which the others do not follow; nor does Ch.'s Lahore ms. Nadwī notes no variant.

5. Abdālī in Hyd.

LETTER 8

Several months after his return to Multān, Aurangzīb recurs to the question of 'Ālam Nauḥānī; hoping to arrange an expedition against him in connection with the general preparations to march on Qandahār.

It is interesting to note that there appear to be two sources of topographical information; the Court copy of a map (of which further copies might have been made available to selected officials) which Aurangzīb was invited to annotate with the latest data, and return; and the gazetteers which the provincial governors and others compiled, and sent to Court. These were not gazetteers in the true sense; there was no attempt to imitate Abu'l Faḡl. They were brief notes of the principal topographical features; and with the turbulent western frontier a cause of endless concern there were probably brief notes on the leading tribal personalities as well. Based on painstaking local enquiry, these notes would have been of far greater worth than the scrappy information on which the Government of India prepared for war in Afghānistān in 1878.

To his Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Your Majesty is informed, that the exalted farmān, adorned with graciousness, which obtained the honour of issue in answer of this murīd's petition, together with the gift of a special robe of honour brought (maṣḥūb) by Imām Qulī the qarāwal (seargeant at arms) scattered the brilliance of its arrival on the 20th day of the great month of Sha'bān,<sup>1</sup> and gave him immeasurable happiness.

Having performed the requirements of submission and offered the salutations of devotion, he has become eloquent (ruṭbu'l-lisān gasht) because of his thankfulness and gratitude for these gifts and marks of favour.

The detailed information upon the stages of the Nauḥānī road, which had been entrusted to Imām Qulī (ba ḥawāla-i-mūmialai-hi), in accordance with the prayer of this murīd, has arrived.

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1. 8 August 1651.

Hail to the saintly preceptor! The nature of the above-mentioned road is known [to this murīd] through the reports of Malik Husain and of the zamīndārs of that district; and Imām Qulī also confirms most of their statements. It is by no means fit for the victorious army to march along it. Since remarks relating to that [route] have been noted upon the map (tumān, "roll", "volume") which has come from the sublime court, they will pass under your Majesty's eye (nazr-i-aqdas).

Mālik Husain suggests, that the Chacha road is better than the Nauḥānī road; but this murīd is not satisfied with that [statement], and does not consider it wise (munāsib namīdānad) to take the victorious army by that unknown road.

[This murīd] considers (muqarrar sākhta) that the same route by which Bahādur Khān joined the victorious army, after passing through the Haut territories [on his way] from Ghaznī and Gardez,<sup>1</sup> should be used to reach the destination. In fact, he is preparing to march by that road.

However, anything which the Imperial will may demand will be the very essence of wisdom, and the marrow (maḥz) of good policy.

May the sun of the caliphate and of its government remain bright and shining in the sky of the good fortune of the state!

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1. On the occasion of the first siege of Qandahār. Bahādur Khān Dā'ūdā'ī, also called Bahādur Khān Ruhela, was the son of Dārya Khān who had perished in 1631 in a skirmish with the Imperial troops pursuing Khān-i-Jahān. But he was loyal to Shāh Jahān, who on his accession accorded him the rank of 4000/2000. After distinguished service in many theatres (particularly the Balkh campaign) he died, of asthma, while serving under Aurangzīb before the Māshūrī gate of Qandahār, on 19 July 1649. Life in M.U.I., ; death.

LETTER 9

Imperial orders to march forthwith against 'Ālam Nauhānī have been received, and Aurangzib is glad to obey a command he himself has solicited.

This letter appears to have been written shortly after the despatch of Letter 8, which was an answer to be delivered by Imām Qulī on 8 August 1651. As Imām Qulī appears to have carried back the maps and other information sent in reply, but not yet to have arrived in the Emperor's camp, we may date this letter to the end of August. In any case, Shāh Jahān would have been obliged to be over the Pīr Panjal pass before the snow began to fall in October.<sup>1</sup>

Passing the winter in Lahore, Shāh Jahān hoped by his extensive preparation to redeem the disgrace of his failure in 1649, which had been partly due to insufficient (and inefficient) artillery. By beginning the despatch of cannon to Kabul before winter set in, he is clearly hoping for a partial remedy, at least, for that deficiency.

Malik Ḥusain's arbitrary behaviour was to be a feature of Mughul public life for nearly fifty years more, until he died, as Khān-i-Jahān Bahādur Zafar Jang, in 1697. Despite Aurangzīb's smooth denials, there cannot be much doubt that there was substance in the complaints which had reached the Imperial ear.

The creation of a separate province of Tattah would have reduced the area of Aurangzīb's viceroyalty; but he clearly did not regard that as an obstacle. He in recommending the change, and the Emperor in sanctioning it, were thinking of the principal object of Mughul policy at the time, the reconquest of Qandahār. In later years, Tatta was sometimes ruled from Multan, sometimes separately. It is perhaps of interest to reflect, that in Tatta right up to the end of 1659 coins were being struck dated in the Persian solar months after the manner of Akbar and Jahāngīr's issues, and dated in the solar years of Shāh Jahān's reign: the date 1069/33 is known both there and at Multan. Aurangzīb, the Islamic purist, made no move against this bid'at while Sūbahdār.

The new viceroy of Tatta, Mughul Khān, is mentioned in a later letter written by Munshī Abu'l Fath as superintending the building of a ship for Aurangzīb (Letter 10, infra and note). He may have been on the third Qandahār expedition, for in 1654 Aurangzīb was to solicit Sa'dullāh Khān for his transfer to the Deccan as a means of "escaping from his necessities" (B.M. fo. 117 A) - perhaps he had borrowed to outfit himself for the campaign, and exceeded his maṣabdārī income. Whatever the reason, the posting seems not to have been made, and Mughul Khān remained, at least for the present, in Tatta. He was not among those of his men honoured by Aurangzīb after Dharmat and Samugarh.

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1. Chaudhurī, quoting the 'Amal-i-Ṣālih III, 134, says that Shāh Jahān reached Lahore on 23 Jumada II, 1061 (13 June 1651). This would be the appropriate time of year to be marching towards Kashmīr, not returning from it.



To his Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Your Majesty is informed, that the exalted farmān, which obtained the honour of issue in response to the petition of this murīd, scattered, at an auspicious moment and a praiseworthy time, the magnificence of its arrival, and gave him great pleasure.

The world-obeyed and universe-subduing command has reached him, that he should despatch, in accordance with his petition, a well-equipped force (lashkar-i-khūbī)<sup>1</sup> against 'Ālam Nauḥānī.

Hail to the qiblah of the worlds! This murīd has explained the actual state of the Nauḥānī road, and of the other roads that run<sup>2</sup> from Multān to Qandahār, in a memorandum which he has sent through (maṣḥūb) Imām Qulī the qarāwal, and which will come to Your Majesty's notice.

Should it be determined that the victorious army should pass by that route, a fresh order might acquire the elegance of being issued, that a well equipped army, fit for punishing him, should be appointed without delay to bring him willy-nilly to Multān; or to make him an exile in the wilderness of misfortune.<sup>3</sup>

May the departure of the standards of grandeur and glory from incomparable Kashmīr towards fortunate Lahore, the Abode of the Sultanate, be blessed!<sup>4</sup>

May Almighty God keep the shadow of the exaltation of the slaves of your Majesty spread over the heads of the earth's inhabitants!

1. N. has a curious slip: lashkar-i-khūnī.

2. N. has another error - rāhā ki....mīrawad.

3. Kām nā kām ū rā ba Multān biyārand, yā awāra-i-ṣaḥra'-i-idbār sāzand: anecho of the language of Letter 2, supra.

4. Dāru's - sultānat had been the title of Lahore since Akbar's time, and remained so until the Sikh ascendancy. It would be wrong to translate it as "the capital"; which Lahore was not.

The despatch of the cannon to Kābul, which occurred to [that] heart of angelic penetration through divine inspiration, was fortunate indeed. Surely this expedition will, by the method that has been decided, be brought to an admirable termination.

There had the honour of issue an order, requiring obedience, which elevated Mughal Khān to be ṣūbahdār of Tattah, as this murīd<sup>1</sup> had wished; and which bestowed upon this murīd cash, in accordance with the ten-monthly schedule, in exchange for his jāgīr; whose produce this year does not exceed the five-monthly allowance.

[His] gratitude for these gifts and favours, which resemble the divine grace, is inexhaustible. In what words can he give thanks?

Hail to the qiblah of the inhabitants of the world! Whatever has reached your Majesty's [knowledge] concerning the tyranny of Mālik Ḥusain is the merest calumny (maḥẓ-i-iftira). In the one year that this murīd has held the province of Tatta', Malik Ḥusain has not interfered with any of the peasantry, (mut 'arīẓ-i-ḥāl-i aḥadī az ra'āyā nagashta) apart from the chastisement of robbers and thieves. No report (khabarī)<sup>2</sup> of these allegations has become known to this murīd; if it had been, ("otherwise") he would have punished him in accordance with what was decreed by the true preceptor and guide; and would not have suffered him to inflict harshness and tyranny. No doubt designing persons have given distorted accounts of the truth (ghāliban ahl-i-gharaz ḥaqīqatī-rā ba tafāwut ma'rūẓ dāshta and).

(The letter lacks a formal ending)

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1. Nadwī converts the ān murīd of the Emperor's order, here quoted according to Aurangzīb's custom, into īn murīd.

2. N. chīzī.

LETTER 10

As this letter acknowledges the Emperor's answer to Letter 8, it is better placed here; although in the manuscripts, and in Chaudhurī's edition, it stands eleventh. In Nadwī's selection it is no.5/10, and has been placed in the same order as adopted here. It may be dated about the beginning of September, 1651.

The Emperor is prompt to accept Aurangzīb's suggestion for the road his forces are to march along to Qandahār; but, as we shall see, the plans are changed. Bahādur Khān, in order to pass through Gardez and Ghaznī (Letter 8, *supra*) would have marched through Thal and the Batai Pass (the Paiwar Kōṭal). This is almost 200 miles north-west of Multān, and the advantage of that route would have been absence of harassment by the tribesmen.

But the principal interest of this letter is in Aurangzīb's spirited defence of his mangement of a new port which he had set up in his province. Its name is not stated; its future is uncertain; and it probably sank into insignificance as soon as Aurangzīb's special interest was withdrawn. Tatta's earlier prosperity had vanished; the new port might have been nearer the sea, to allow ships to reach it more readily.

It is clear that 1651 must have been the first year of the port's operation, for Aurangzīb defends himself against an allegation that he has furnished no account of its revenues by explaining that so far there have been none.

Dr Mu'īnu'l Ḥaq has subjected the letter to analysis in his "Prince Awrangzib", and suitable comments upon his annotations have been offered.

A letter of 1655, written by Munshī Abu'l Faṭḥ to Muḥammad Sulṭān (then at Court) to represent certain matters to the Emperor, suggests that the new port had already been abandoned. After denying a suggestion that he had had a ship built at Sūrāt for his private trade, the Munshī says that a ship being built at Tatta had been carried off by a robber - the "zamīndār of Kakrāla" of Letter 2. Had Aurangzīb's port been even a partial success, would he not have had his ship constructed there? (Rampur fo. 104 A, ad fin.)

To his Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Your Majesty is informed, that the exalted farman, which had obtained the honour of issue in response to the petition which this murīd submitted through Imām Qulī the qarāwal, has vouchsafed the excellence of its arrival at a grace-diffusing hour. [This murīd], who has performed the salutation of

servitude and the requirements of submission, has been honoured by that great gift.

The world-obeyed order which has been given, saying that this murīd should select, for his journey (raftan) to Qandahār, the road which had been traversed (sar kardā) by Bahādur Khān, is fortunate indeed.

Hail to the saintly preceptor! Almighty God willing, this murīd will join (mulḥiq khwāhad shud) the conquering armies by the route that has been decided [for him] at the moment they set out in the desired direction.

The summoning of the illustrious prince, (shāhzāda-i-nāmdār)<sup>1</sup> and of those servants who had leave to go to their jāgīrs and the mobilisation (juma' āmadan)<sup>2</sup> of the troops glorious as heaven, was extremely fortunate.

By the aid of the Almighty, and the imperishable good fortune of your Majesty, the Shadow of God, may everything desired by [your Majesty's] sacred heart be now splendidly exhibited in the choicest style (ba aḥsan wajhī) upon the platform of display; and may the bride of conquest and victory show her face in the mirror of acquisition in the most excellent manner ('arūs-i-faṭḥ wa zafr ba sūratī-i-shāyasta dar āyina-i-ḥuṣūl rūī numāyad).

A sacred order acquired the adornment of arrival, that the chintz turbans of Tatta,<sup>3</sup> which this murīd had sent, were highly approved; (mustaḥsan uftād) and that he should despatch more of the same kind. Upon the appearance of this condescension, which is the essence of solicitude for insignificant beings, and of tenderness towards servants, be flung the cap of joy high into the sky (kulāh-i-shādī bar āsmān andākht).

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1. This was not Dārā Shikoh, but Shujā', governor of Bengal; see Letter 14, *infra*.

2. Nadwī, unsupported by any ms., reads juma'-i-ān. He doubtless construed, "the gathering of these troops ..."

3. Chīrha-i-chhīnt-i-Tatta. Chīr (Platts, 471, Monier-Williams, 399, col.3, s.v.) means, *inter alia*, "a strip ...of cloth." Chhīnt (the direct source of 'chintz') is derived from the root sprsh, "touch", (Platts, 469); means a spot, a splash; hence, *inter alia*, the speckled cloth called chintz. Later in the seventeenth century white cloth woven or printed with small repeated patterns had a great vogue. The true chintz was painted, not embroidered.



Verse:<sup>1</sup> At this good news, it would be proper to sacrifice my life (badīn muzhda gar jān-fishānam rawā ast).

Several bolts (thān)<sup>2</sup> of turban-material (chīra)<sup>3</sup> have recently arrived from Tatta. However the gold-leaf work<sup>4</sup> is defective (mānda) and this murīd considers it his good fortune to send [them] subsequently (munāqib)<sup>5</sup>.

An order obtained the nobility of issue, that this murīd should set out in writing (ma'rūz dārad) a true statement of the income of the port, which he has founded (ahdāṣ kardā) in [the province of] Tattah.

Hail to the qibla of the inhabitants of the world!<sup>6</sup> The income of ports (banādir) depends upon (munḥaṣir) two things; the duty of ten per cent upon trade-goods, ('ushr-i-māl-i-tujjār) and on passengers' fares (naul) and freight (kirāya)<sup>7</sup>. The ten per cent on goods has invariably (hargāh) been remitted, as a gesture of charity on the part of your Majesty; (ba taṣadduq-i-farq-i-mubārak)<sup>8</sup> and one ship,

1. Noted in R. as a maṣra, but not in other mss.

2. Platts, 346 s.v.; from its primary meaning 'place' is derived..."cloth or silk, etc, in the piece; a piece ..., a unit, a single one."

3. B.M. chira; so perhaps I.O., and certainly R.; but chīra is correct.

4. Kār-i-basma, adopted by N. and Ch.; I.O., extremely ill-scrawled at this point (fo.6B, ad calc.) has basta.

5. Sc., after the gold-leaf is stamped on again, and better.

6. On p.28 of "Prince Awrangzib", Dr Mu'īnu'l Ḥaq offers a translation of the two following sentences, and an abstract of the remainder.

7. Mu'īn'l Ḥaq transliterates the ten per cent duty as "ushri-mī i tujjār", and translates naul as "presents", which is probably not the meaning here. Clearly the duty fell on goods (on the one hand) and on fares and freight (on the other). A duty on "presents" (peshkash) was not likely.

8. This phrase doubtless refers to the practice of waving an object about a man's head, and then giving it in charity in his name. While Jahānārā lay ill in 1644, a thousand rupees a day were distributed in this manner to the poor of Agra.

(yak manzil-i-jahāz)<sup>1</sup> belonging to this murīd, which had been in Sūrāt, was brought to this [new] port this year, but has made no voyage so far. The ship "Bād-āwurd", which belongs to the Imperial government (az sarkār-i-khālīṣa-i-sharīf girifta) is not yet fit to sail (mukammal nīst)<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, ships from other ports have not yet begun to visit (āmad-u-raft ...wā nagashta) this port; nor have merchants from other places begun to throng (taraddud) there. How then can a true account of its income be given?

The things necessary for regulating a newly established port, such as building a fort, and constructing a harbour (ta'mīr-i-furzat) and so on have been suitably completed. Almighty God willing, it will soon become flourishing; (raunaq khwāhad girift) and with the passage of time it will become a source of income (ba dākhil khwāhad āmad).

The true purpose (maṭlab-i-aṣlī) of this murīd in establishing this port was, that some curiosities and rare objects (tuḥf wa nawādir), worthy to be offered at Court, will most probably come to hand; if not how would the income [of the port] become known? (wa illa ḥāṣil-i-ān ma'lūm chi khwāhad shud?) [sc. it would be nothing at all]<sup>4</sup>

May the sun of the Caliphate and of its sway continue to glisten and shine from its seat in the Sultanate and in [its] universal conquests!

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1. "My ship having only one deck" is a mistake. The idiom seems to be akin to "panj 'adad kitāb" and others where a substantive is used as a "classifier"; Lambton, Persian Grammar, 43-44.

2. The ship appears to be out of trim - not "incomplete", the literal meaning favoured by Dr Mu'īnu'l Haq. The inference is, not that it is under construction - not probable at a new port - but that it has sailed to the new port and is there being refitted, perhaps after being purchased from a private trader - or even confiscated.

3. Mu'īnu'l Haq seems to interpret these words as an attempt by Aurangzīb to excuse the building of the fort; he seems rather to announce it, as something obviously necessary.

4. There can be little doubt that Aurangzīb's question is purely rhetorical, although Mu'īnu'l Haq translates it literally. Later, criticising the poor performance of certain cannon from Sūrāt, Aurangzīb writes: "...harchand ma'lūm ast ke az zarb-i-dū top-i-Sūrātī... chi qadr khwāhad shud. Ammā baraye pās-i-hukm-i-gītī-muta' ..." (Letter 31) See also Letters 32 and 34.

LETTER 11

This letter answers one received on 2 January, 1652. Accordingly it should precede the short letter which follows, and acknowledges the special gifts sent with Khusrau Chela. The conventional salutations and acknowledgements are inordinately long; does Aurangzīb feel that he has fallen somewhat in the Emperor's favour? Going further, he boasts of his bravery; Qandahār is nothing, he will take Herāt. We shall hear more of this.

Dārā Shikoh has been called to Court from his sūbah of Allahabad (Ilahābād), and Aurangzīb, his native caution once more predominant, extends tepid congratulations.

The excellent arrangements Aurangzīb has begun to prepare the roads to the crest of the Khojak pass for the troops and their equipment deserve close attention. There is no doubt that he was better prepared than the British forces were in 1878, for all that railways had been pushed well up into the hills.

Aurangzīb is naturally pleased that the Emperor should have resolved to oversee the campaign from his province of Multān. Multān itself is further from Qandahār than is Kābul, but in the warmer weather the Emperor might have retreated up beyond Sībī to cooler country, and he would have been much nearer the scene of combat. Aurangzīb could hardly have expected the minute and officious interference the Emperor was to exercise from Kābul, after changing his mind about marching to Multān; (Letter 14); besides, he might well have hoped, with the Emperor in the southern staging-posts, that Dārā's command in Kābul would be something of a side-show.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

The murīd of unwavering loyalty ('aqīdat kesh "with loyalty as his religion") having kissed with the lip of civility the ground of servitude, and having performed the observances of submission and loyalty brings it to your Majesty's notice ("to the ears of pomp and magnificence") that the farmān, adorned with grace and decorated with the blessed signature, which in the sincere and trusting eyes of this murīd is better than thousands of jewels and pearls, was brought by Ṭahmurās Chela, and distributed the nobility of its arrival on Monday, the eighteenth day of the noble



month of Muḥarram,<sup>1</sup> two months and eleven days after [the date of the letter it answers]. It was a cause of distinction and elevation and afforded complete satisfaction to the heart of this murīd, which, during this time, had been a mirror of anxiety (a'īn-i-girān) through the late arrival of the gracious farman.

Since, in that royal letter resplendent with light, this murīd was remembered in one connection with the title ('anwān) of approval, he took it as a cause of spiritual and temporal felicity; and performed the duties of praise and thanksgiving [to God] (may his power be exalted) and the formalities of greeting the true preceptor and guide (may his shadow be lengthened).

It had obtained adornment by being written on this occasion that the victorious army and the arsenal were adequately organised (az qār wāqī' shuda)<sup>2</sup>. May God be praised, that in this everlasting realm there is no lack of anything; and that what the rulers of [other] parts could not obtain over long years and by great exertion (dar sālḥā i dārāz ba sa'ī-i-bisyār muyassar nagardad) comes to hand in one day, through a little attention on the part of your Majesty. How could it be otherwise? (chira chunīn nashawad?)

It is hoped, that the desire of the sacred heart may be brought to an admirable conclusion, and become a necessary cause of honour and reputation. What are Qandahār and its appurtenances? (Qandahār wa muḥāfāzāt-i-ān chi khwāhad būd?) If a sacred order were issued, this murīd would not confine himself to the taking of the fort of Qandahār and its subordinate fortresses; he would be able, with co-operation of the prudent vizier (wazīr-i-sa'īb tadbīr) to make plans to capture (fīkr-i-tasakhkhīr) Herāt and its environs.

Written down in the noble farmān was the date of the setting-out of the prince of lofty fortune. (Dārā Shīkoh) (Bādshāhzāda-i-buland iqbāl)<sup>3</sup> Almighty God willing, may he

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1. 18 Muḥarram, 1062/ 2 January 1652.

2. Ch. has waqī'a (a mistake).

3. It was not until the commencement of the 30th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, late in 1655, that this title was elevated to Shāh-i-Buland Iqbāl, and the famous golden chair accorded him beside the Peacock Throne. The death of Shāh Safī I in 1642 caused a Persian expedition against Qandahār to be abandoned, and this was the occasion of Dārā's being styled Bādshāhzāda-i-Buland Iqbāl.



reach the Imperial court, ("the stirrup of felicity") and obtain his desire of [performing] the noble ceremony of kissing the foot which is the treasure of the good fortune of the two worlds.

Since Malik Ḥusain Abdālī<sup>1</sup> has repeatedly submitted to your Majesty, that it was necessary that you should come to Multān, and that this murīd should depart by the direct road, with the army that has been appointed to go with him, [the following] world-obeyed order has arrived: "Under these circumstances it would be better for that murīd to go by that very road. We shall go to Multān (Mā ba daulat wa iqbāl ba Multān tashrīf arzānī farmāyīm) and shall send that eldest son (mihīn pūr) of the Caliphate to Kābul with 'Alī Mardān Khān, the Amīru'l Umrā.

Hail to the qibla of the inhabitants of the world! In the matter of sending Dādā Bhāī and the Amīru'l Umrā, whatever seems fit to the kingdom-adorning mind, which is the receptacle of mystical lights, (maṭraḥ-i-anwar-i-ghaib) is the essence of good policy, and the marrow of wisdom. Since Malik Ḥusain and the zamīndārs of Dukī and Chūtiālī (who are admitted among the servants of the Court, and are serving in Multan). have emphatically (ba jidd) told this murīd, that the direct road is the shortest to the destination, and the safest, ("nearest to tranquillity") it occurs [to this murīd] that he should set off for the destination by that very route. He has already sent some of his men severel times (mukarrar) to investigate the true condition of that road. Now that the same thing miraculously (az ru'ī-i-karāmat) has cast its brilliance into the mirror of luminous thought, he shall, God willing, hasten to [his] destination by the direct road.

After making suitable preparations for that (sc., the journey) he will establish posting-houses between Multān and Qandahār after the same fashion as those between Lahore and Multān. He will level (hamwār kardā) the irregularities (past wa buland) of the [surface of the] road<sup>2</sup>; at the

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1. Not Aurangzīb's foster brother Mīr Malik Ḥusain Khwāfī (Letter 3, supra) but a local chieftain of the Abdālī tribe.

2. This was no easy task; see the account of the enormous labour required to prepare the Khojak Pass for camels, and for manhandling the artillery, in 1878; Official Account, 153-159, and plate opposite 160. The gigantic and inefficient Mughul guns would have been even more burdensome.

stations where water is lacking, he will dig wells; and in some places he will construct armed posts.

The departure of the prosperous cavalcade (mankib-i-iqbāl) towards Multān is fortunate, and in various ways<sup>1</sup> fit and suitable.

Happy the inhabitants of these regions, who are to receive light and brilliance from the unfurling of the standards destined for victory!

The buildings of that place (sc., the road) have mostly been completed, in accordance with the plan (tarāḥī) which your Majesty has seen, despite the shortage of materials and the incompetence of the local masons (qillat-i-masāliḥ wa mim'arān-i-bī-wuqūf)<sup>2</sup>. Whatever remains [undone] will soon be finished.

The typical climate (haqīqat-i-āb u hawā) of this place, (sc., the road to Qandahār) as is abundantly clear to those who stand at the foot of the throne of the Caliphate, is excessively cold (kamāl-i-burūdat) in winter, and exceedingly hot (nihāyat-i-ḥarārat) in spring, [because of the] contrary winds (badhā-i-mukhtalif).

As soon as a lofty and exalted order shall receive the nobility of being issued, [this murīd] will send the khānazāds towards the fort of Bhakkar; and will turn towards the task laid down for him.

The reports from Īrān, and the accounts of the doings of the ruler of that place, (auṣa' -i-wālī-i-ānjā) have been entered upon a separate scroll, in the form in which they have been elucidated from the statements of those people<sup>3</sup> who have come [from Persia] by the Nauḥānī and Tatta<sup>4</sup> roads. They shall be brought to your Majesty's notice.

(This letter has no formal conclusion)

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1. For ba chandīn jihat B.M. and R. read ba chandīn jihata.

2. Chaudhurī rather foolishly has bārān-i-bī-wuqūf. Not even Nadwī's worst mss contain such a blunder.

3. jima'ah in mss; but N. reads jama'at, which seems better.

4. B.M. (alone) has Tattha.

LETTER 12

The Emperor's gift of two pearl rosaries and two armlets (to be worn on the upper arm) was a normal enough gesture at the start of the campaign. The letter acknowledging the receipt of the first gifts has not come down to us. The gifts are brought, not by a regular messenger, but by a chela; the Mughul term for a private servant, even a slave, of the Emperor.

The letter, and the gifts, reached Aurangzīb on 14 February, 1652 - 4 Rabī'u'l awwal (Chaudhurī has a misprint in his note - 1069 for 1062). In the months since Shāh Jahān returned from Kashmīr, preparations have been further advanced; and the Emperor has suggested that Aurangzīb co-operate with Dārā Shikoh. Such a prospect so disgusts Aurangzīb, that he does not even repeat his brother's name; he quotes the Imperial command at length, and briefly indicates his intention to comply - markūz-i-khaṭir-i-mubārak ba wajh-i-aḥsan ba munassa-i-zahūr jilwa-gar shawad. With this he sufficiently indicates his tepid attitude; and the Emperor does not press his proposal that "Our two murīds" march together.

The act of "taking the omens" after the first detachments marched off was probably not a public ceremony but a private one; perhaps the taking of a fāl out of Hāfiz' Diwān. A sacrifice in the Roman mode, with inspection of the entrails, was not part of Mughul practice.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

The least of murīds, [a man] of sincere character, having performed, out of the honesty of his intentions, the salutations of devotion and submission (which are the treasure of good fortune and happiness), humbly advises your sacred Majesty that a humā of the mountain-top of felicity (namely, the royal letter resplendent with light) extended the shadow of its arrival on Wednesday, the fourth of the month of Rabī' I, together with two rosaries of pearls (smaranī-i-marwarīd) and two armlets of cornelian and pearl (pahunchī-i-'aqīqu'l baḥr) brought by Khusrau Chela;<sup>1</sup> and was a cause of glory and distinction to this servant.

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1. The ms text is: du smaranī-i-marwarīd wa dū pahunchī-i-'ainu'l baḥr. Nadwī repeats this without noting variants, but reads 'aqīqu'l-baḥr: cornelian, "Mocha stone" - a semi-precious stone much prized by the Mughuls. Chaudhurī omits the second dū, and gives 'ainu'l hara (sic). His explanatory note reads: "a costly stone called in English catskin" (sic). Is he thinking of the "cat's eye", the pedicular opercle of a species of whelk? At all events his ms. appears to give the  
(footnote continued over)



[This murīd] offers the greetings of a disciple and the salutations of a slave [and begs to say] that the royal rosaries and the armlets, [now given] for the second time, have piled nobility upon nobility.

May the sheltering shade of the solicitude for insignificant beings, and the tenderness towards murīds, of the qibla and ka'ba of the two worlds remain for ever over the heads of murīds in general and over the trusting head of this servant in particular.

In the exalted farmān it was written, that the cash salary of this murīd from the beginning of Khurdād<sup>1</sup> had been sent with Mubārak Khān and Kākar Khān.<sup>2</sup>

Hail to the qibla of the present and future worlds! Upon the departure of Mubārak Khān, [but] before [that of] the other ("the collection") servants who have been appointed to serve under this murīd, he took the omens (tafā'ul girift) for victory and triumph. He hopes, that this fortunate expedition will be victorious, happy, and prosperous for the supporters of the Imperial Court; and that fresh victories will be accorded to the servants of the Court, the asylum of all creation, by God's grace and the perfection of His mercy.

A sacred and exalted order has scattered the brilliance of its arrival, that it was necessary that the two armies should proceed at the same time against Qandahār, and that if the accursed enemy (ghanīm-i-mardūd) should come to Qandahār before we have beseiged it, it is imperative that we two murīds make a united attack on the enemy, and, by the favour of God,

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(footnote continued from previous page)

better reading, 'aqīqu'l baḥr; which he renders with the he'i-hauwaz. The emendation to 'aqīqu'l baḥr, despite the unanimous reading of B.M., R., and I.O., seems well justified. See Steingass, s.v., p.859.

1. May-June; so this payment was an advance, according to the usual custom, to help Aurangzīb in fitting out his forces.

2. Kākar Khān belonged to the Kākar tribe, still tumultuous enough to harass the British forces during the campaign of 1879-80; for their depredations at the mouth of the Khojak Pass (Aurangzīb's route) in April, 1880, see Official Account, 467-469. Shāh Jahān later suggested one Jalāl Kākar as commandant of Ellichpūr. Aurangzīb argued him out of it. (Letter 63, *infra*)

For Kakar Khan see M.U. III, 757-8. A valuable note about him, and the permutations of his rank is in Sel. Doc. Shah Jahan, 110, upon a memorandum of 22 July 1643.



destroy the unbelievers utterly. After that, we should besiege the fort, and occupy it. Should the victorious army arrive earlier, and should [the two murīds] consider that the fort of Qandahār could be expeditiously reduced, all the armies should besiege that fort and carry it.

Hail to the preceptor and guide of this murīd! Whatever occurs to the sacred mind [of Your Majesty] is the marrow of inspiration and the mirror of proper conduct. Although it seems unlikely that the faithless enemy (ghanīm-i-badkesh) could reach Qandahār before the arrival of the victorious army, it is fervently hoped that, with the grace of the Almighty, they will meet condign punishment and be quite exterminated. May the desire of the happy heart [of your Majesty] be splendidly displayed in the choicest manner upon the platform of manifestation!

Hail to the gibla of the worlds! The true facts of the dispute which has recently broken out between the ill-starred Daulat and the worthless Autar will reach your Majesty in a separate document, in the form in which it became known from the official reports of the district of Bhakkar. The zamīndārs of Dukī and Chutiālī and Qūshinj<sup>1</sup>, who are admitted among the servants of the Court, say that if a detachment were sent against them before the departure of the conquering army, they will despair of [help] from the detestable enemy and, by the felicitous guidance [of God], might make the ring of servitude to the Court, the refuge of rulers, the ornament of their ears. Should this fortunate result not ensue, they will be either seized or destroyed.

Therefore [this murīd] suggests, that it be ordered that he should despatch an army, on the date upon which he is to march, in accordance with the Imperial command; so that it, and the abovementioned zamīndārs, may by the divine favour occupy Qūshinj, and gather there the provisions collected in

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1. Qūshinj is Pishin, some 25 miles N.-N.-W. of Quetta. R. represents it as Fūshinj.

that area; which will come up to Qandahār from the district of Bhakkar before the arrival of the victorious army, by the road through Sībī and Kanjāba.<sup>1</sup>

May the world-illuminating sun of the Sultanate and Caliphate continue to strive upon the heads of murīds and slaves!

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1. N. notes Kanjāz in his 'U. Ch. follows the tradition of the better mss here, but amends his own ms reading Sabūhī to Siwaḥī. There seems no authority to depart from the mss Sīwī, (or the modern Sībī), at the head of the valley which leads up to the Bolan Pass. For Qūshinj, his ms. reads Qūshaḥ. Nadwī's mss have preserved a better tradition.

LETTER 13

This letter reached Aurangzīb on 31 January 1652. Its traditional place as seventeenth in the collection is inappropriate, as Nadwī has perceived.

The rings with lucky stones, brought by a private attendant of the Emperor, are a further earnest of the Emperor's good will. There can be no real doubt that before this unfortunate siege, whatever happened during it, Shāh Jahān made a consistent effort to conciliate his sensitive and aspiring son; and Aurangzīb, so far as the conventional properties in which he drapes his sentiments will permit one to penetrate, seems to have responded.

The Emperor asks Aurangzīb to nominate the command he would prefer; and Aurangzīb, fully aware of the strength of Qandahār, opts for the less tedious, and possibly more glamorous, task of reducing Zamīn Dāwar and Bust.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

[This murīd], insignificant as a speck of dust kisses the ground of service with the lip of propriety, and, having performed the formalities of submission and devotion, informs your Majesty, that the exalted farmān duly issued, was brought by Farīdūn Chela. It vouchsafed the nobility of its arrival on Wednesday, the 19th of the month of Ṣafar, (may God<sup>1</sup> end it in well-being and victory). [The farmān] was a treasure-house of glory and raised the head of this murīd's honour to a situation resembling that of the throne of God. He makes the acknowledgements due from a true disciple, for the gift of four<sup>2</sup> rings, each one of which is adorned with a lucky stone,<sup>3</sup> from which he has reaped the harvest (ḥāṣil namūda) of distinction and elevation.

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1. B.M. omits God from this conventional phrase. The date is equivalent to 31 January 1652.

2. I.O. omits chahār.

3. Nagīn-i-sa'ādat. One of these would have been a turquoise (fīrūza).

In the royal missive glittering with light it was written: "We intend to divide the entire victorious army into three parts. We wish to send a body against the fort of Bust, and a contingent against the fort of Zamīn Dāwar; and to despatch a large force of soldiers to take the fort of Qandahār, so that all three of those forts will be besieged and, with the aid of the divine bounty, taken. Let that murīd choose which of these duties he wants [to perform], and write. It is most probable (ẓann-i-ghālib ast) that the forts of Bust and Zamīn Dāwar will be taken before the fort of Qandahār, which is exceedingly strong; (istiḥkām-i-tamām dārad) [therefore], should the God-forsaken enemy approach in battle-array, (ba jang-i-saff) those two armies, which shall be besieging the forts of Bust and Zamīn Dāwar, will unite and exterminate that rabble" (mukhāzil).

Hail to the true preceptor and guide! At the disclosure of this infinite condescension, which has made this murid a free agent (mukhtār) his head of distinction was exalted to the pinnacle of honour. It is clear, to the mind, comparable to the sun, that to carry out the commands and conform with the wishes of your Majesty, who is an embodiment of spiritual and worldly felicities,<sup>1</sup> has constantly been to this murid an object in itself, and remains so.

Since, through tenderness to murīds, he has been directed to choose one of the three duties, he makes bold (jasārat namūda) to submit, that since it is not only clear from the contents of the sublime formān that the capture of the fort of Qandahār, as opposed to the other forts is not free from difficulty (khālī az ishkālī nīst), but is also a fact; and since, as soon as victory shall have been gained, through invisible support, at Qandahār, those two forts shall be taken quite easily; he hopes, that if the happy heart<sup>2</sup> agrees, he may be ordered to the capture of the fort of Qandahār, so that after discharging the obligation to hazard his life [in your Majesty's service] (sharā'it-i-jān-afshānī ba jā āwurda)

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1. Another phrase worthy of notice, which emphasises the spiritual superiority of the absolute sovereign: 'Alā Ḥazrat, ki mutaẓammin-i-sa'ādat-i-dīn wa duniyā ast.

2. Khātir-i-mubārak. I.O. omits mubārak.



he may obtain the trophy of success (pīrāya-i-surkh-rūī). However should an order be made for him to go to the fort of Zamīn Dāwar, which is on the main route of the vile enemy's approach, and should those mean-spirited (kota andeshān)<sup>1</sup> and faithless people decide to help the besieged, then by the grace of the true Giver of victory, he will give them a sound drubbing (tanbīh wa ta'dīb-i-ānhā ba wāqi' namūda), and will not suffer them to put forward the foot of audacity. The army besieging the fort of Qandahār will then be able to devote itself with an easy mind to that worthy task.

It is apparent from the language (maẓmūn) of the farmān, to which obedience is imperative, that the New Year<sup>2</sup> will be [celebrated] at Ḥasan Abdāl. Hail to the qibla of the two worlds! Although the arrangement of this fortunate journey is not so very difficult for the world-subduing and loftily-thinking intelligence, which is and always will be occupied with affairs of the greatest consequence, it is very burdensome (shaqq) to murīds that Your Majesty should set out in person. The good fortune of murīds lies in the fact that they should regard as a great boon (mughtanam) the ease and comfort of that sacred personage, who is the bestower of order upon the world and its inhabitants, and should bind the belt of service about the belly of their lives. By these means they enrich and cultivate their spiritual and temporal interests. It is certain, that whatever casts its brilliance upon the heart of angelic penetration is the essence of good policy.

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1. This word is used later, as an adjective, of Qutbu'l Mulk: e.g. Letter 101, *infra*.

2. The Iranian solar new year (nauroz) fell on 22 March 1652. Nauroz was the greatest festival of the Mughuls. As soon as he had been crowned Emperor, Aurangzīb suppressed it. Instead, he ordered his own coronation to be commemorated on the 'Īdu'l fitr, which fell one week after the actual date of his second and solemn enthronement. (M.A., 25 (text); cf. 22.) Later, in 1677, even this ceremony would be abolished; *ibid*, 162. This occasion was the nineteenth lunar anniversary of the formal coronation on 15 June, 1659; and the cause was not fanatic piety, but the need for economy. Cf. a review of Court expenditure in 1670, *ibid*, 100.

A noble order has obtained the honour of issue, that 1,050,000 rupees be presented to this murīd. "550,000 are by way of his cash salary up to the last day of Urdībihisht,<sup>1</sup> and 500,000 are in the nature of a subsidy (ba ṣīgha-i-musā'-adat). If he wants it at once We shall send it under the charge of other men; otherwise it shall be sent with Luhrāsp Khān".<sup>2</sup> [This murīd] offers his acknowledgement of this

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1. Sc., 22 May, 1652: that is, his salary for the rabī' season.

2. Aurangzīb is referring to Luhrāsp (c. 1612-1675) the son of Mahābat Khān Sipahsālār of Jahangir's reign and the first Khān-i-Khānān of Shāh Jahān (d. 1634) (M.U. III 385-407). There is a life of this second Mahābat Khān in M.U. III, 590-595 (text). He was Luhrāsp Khān, and 2000/1000, at the very beginning of Shāh Jahān's regin, and by the twenty-fifth year (1650-51) was 5000/5000. In that year "his face was illumined with the exalted name of Mahābat Khān instead of Luhrāsp Khān" (M.U. III, 590 ad fin.) It is curious that Aurangzīb, writing in the 26th year, does not give him his new title: in Letter 26, written four months later, he does.

The Ma'āsiru'l Umarā does not mention Mahābat Khān's presence at the second siege of Qandahār. He was sent to Aurangzīb in the Deccan in 1656, but did not arrive in time for the Golconda affair: cf. I.O., 167B. Campaigning against Bījāpūr, he was one of those who answered the call to Court when Shāh Jahān decided to make peace in August, 1657. Returning to Court, Mahābat Khān was made Ṣūbahdār of Kābul early in 1658. Aurangzīb accepted in silence his remonstrances on behalf of Shāh Jahān, and left him there until late in 1661, when he appointed him ṣūbahdār of Gujarāt and replaced him with Shaikh Mīr's brother Amīr Khān (M.A.38, (text). In 1668, Amīr Khān was transferred, and Mahābat Khān was returned to Kābul (ibid, 72), but was superseded in 1670 by Muḥammad Amīn Khān, son of Mīr Jumla (ibid, 104). In November, 1670, he was ordered, after audience, to serve with Prince Mu'aẓẓam in the Deccan (ibid, 107), but after the famous defeat of the headstrong Muḥammad Amīn Khān at the hands of the Pathāns of the Khaibar Pass in 1672, he was sent to Kābul a third time (but forbidden an interview, ibid, 122). Aurangzīb suspected him of a secret understanding with the Afghāns (ibid, 129) and finally superseded him in October, 1674 (ibid, 136). He died on the way back to India on 1 January, 1675 (ibid, 140-41) and there may be truth in Manucci's assertion that Aurangzīb had him poisoned (Manucci, II, 205-207). There is no reason to doubt that adventurer's account of his interview with the sick and suspicious noble outside Lahore. Manucci tells a story of him, which accords with his character (ibid, 34); when first summoned from Kābul in 1661, he shaved off his beard and moustache before appearing at Court. Aurangzīb asked him why. He replied, that he had heard old soldiers were being discharged, and that he did not wish to be thought old, (he was about fifty) wishing to remain in so great a ruler's service. Aurangzīb is said to have laughed, and taken the hint. In later years, he would not have been so agreeably complaisant.

favour of a subsidy, which is the essence of generosity.

On the matter of his cash salary for the rabī' season, he had already written to the Khān, the model of felicity.<sup>1</sup> [The letter] may have come to the notice of Your Majesty.

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1. This is of course Sa'du'llāh Khān (c. 1590-1656) the celebrated wazīr, who entered the Imperial service in 1641. There is a life in M.U. II, 441-449, and an anecdote relating his predecessor Islām Khān's opinion of him is in that noble's biography: M.U. I, 164.

LETTER 14

Once again, Aurangzīb's formal greetings and expressions of gratitude are lengthy.

The Emperor, apparently disregarding Aurangzīb's careful preparations along the Khojak route, directs him to march north to Kohāt, and then through Thal, the Batā'ī Pass (Paiwar Kōṭal) the fertile Khost valley, Gardez and Ghaznī. This was the route Aurangzīb himself had first recommended (Letter 8); but now he argues cogently for his new proposal, and ultimately carries the day.

The Haut territories were centred upon Dera Isma'īl Khān, on the right bank of the Indus. Isma'īl Haut appears to be the eponym of the town.

The letter he is answering reached Aurangzīb on 8 Rabī'I, 1062/18 February 1652.

The least of humble murīds [performs] the obligations of propriety, devotion, and servitude, which are the treasure of existence and life; (sarmāya-i-ḥayāt wa zindagī) and, [like] a speck of dust (zarra miṣāl) informs Your Majesty that the exalted farmān adorned with felicity, which had obtained the honour of issue, [and was] brought by the messenger of the sublime government with a turban-ornament (sarpech)<sup>1</sup> of emeralds and pearls, vouchsafed the brilliance of its arrival on Sunday, the 8th of Rabī'I,<sup>2</sup> and raised the head of this murīd's honour and glory to the pinnacle of the highest heaven. Having offered proper and respectful greetings, he has become gratified and elevated, because of the limitless imperial bounty. May the lofty shadow of the qibla and ka'ba of the two worlds remain spread perpetually over the heads of sincere and humble murīds!

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1. For the Indian usage, see Platts, 648, cols. 1 & 2, s.v. sar. For gifts of a sarpech by Aurangzīb as Emperor, see (e.g.) M.A. (text) 157, 159 (1677); 181 (1679). Sarpech seems to have been the official term for the aigrette in a nobleman's turban. Kalgī (kalkī, kalghī, kalaghī, q.v.s.vv. in Steingass, 1042, 1043) was a more general term, perhaps for an aigrette not a badge of rank: cf the marriage of Muḥammad Isma'īl 'Itiqād Khān in 1677, M.A. (text) 158.



In the royal missive glittering with light (manshūr-i-lāmi'u'n-nūr) it was written: "At an auspicious hour, we shall give leave for the setting-forth of the lofty standards [and] of our excellent vizier [who is adorned with all qualities] (wazīr-i-shāyista, ba hama šifāt ārasta) and the rest of the servants. It occurs to Our most sacred heart, that it would be better if that murīd were to cross the river Indus (daryā-i-Sind)<sup>1</sup> after passing from Multān through the Haut territory. After reaching Kohāt he should go up towards Qandahār by the Bangash road. In the vicinity of Ghaznī, the entire victorious army should unite, and march on. Since the actual state of the direct road from Multān to Qandahār is unknown, it would be better if that murīd were to find out all he can about it, and submit a memorandum about it quickly, lest he suffer hardship on it and be unable to get provisions (ghalla wa kāh). He should write in how many days he can reach Kohāt from Multan."

Hail to the qiblah of this murīd! The departure of the servants at the [auspicious] hour mentioned [in the farmān] is fortunate indeed. It is hoped, that with the support of the Almighty (exalted be his power) victory and conquest may be the perpetual decoration of the good fortune of the supporters of the state, and that the enemies of the faith and of the state may be rooted out and accursed.

Hail to the saintly preceptor! The true state of this road is known up to the Haut country, [but] from there to Bangash little is known of it.

Malik Ḥusain Abdalī and the other zamīndārs who are included in the ranks of the servants of the Court, the refuge of rulers, have repeatedly explained to Your Majesty, that water and provisions have been provided as far as possible, and [more] are being provided, for this road up to Sang Lakhshān, which is [at] the boundary [of this murīd's territory]. From Chutiālī to Qandahār, the zamīndārs above-mentioned have undertaken to provide water, fodder, and

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1. R. has dittography; ...ān murīd az Multān ba wilāyat-i-Haut shuda az daryā-i-Haut -i-Sind baguzarad.

provisions; perhaps Malik Ḥusain may have informed Your Majesty of this fact. If, God willing, the spring be fine, the victorious army will not lack water and fodder on its march (az rahguzar).

Whatever way it may seem fit to the angelic heart that this murīd should actually join the victorious army at Ghaznī,<sup>1</sup> a lofty and exalted order might be issued, that he should march by the route along which he had previously gone to Kohāt through Bhīra, and from there he will go up, according to the imperial order, to Ghaznī by the Bangash road, and join the victorious army.

But the distance from Multān to Kohāt by this road is 116 cos (kroh)<sup>2</sup>, and by the time within which this humble murīd could reach Kohāt by it, he could reach Qūshinj, which is 124 cos from Multān.

In any event this murīd is a pattern of obedience and subordination. Every task assigned to him he considers his good fortune, and, God willing, he will perform it. May the world-illuminating sun of the sultanate and the caliphate always rise splendidly in the horizon of magnificence and prosperity!

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1. B.M. (and Ch.) Ghaznīn.

2. Here the mss have a mistake, perhaps originating in the original copy: az Multān tā Kohāt shānzdah kroh ast. Nadwī corrects it by adding ṣad o. Ch. does not follow him.

LETTER 15

Aurangzīb begins by making lengthy acknowledgements of further gifts, made by the Emperor to show him favour and offer him encouragement.

A proposal that he co-operate with his brother Shujā', Governor of Bengal, who was being summoned to aid the great effort against Qandahār, produces an almost rapturous declaration of loyalty and ostensible submission; the Emperor's wisdom, foresight, and understanding are ranked almost equally with the attributes of God. As if this were not extravagant enough, Aurangzīb offers to sweep past Qandahār and take Herāt; a fantastic boast which (if not regarded as rhodomontade) would cast doubt upon Aurangzīb's comprehension of reality.

But vain boast it is; and Aurangzīb is not so foolish as to be unable to perceive that a chance for individual glory can be snatched from the Emperor's offer of independent command of a force sent beyond Qandahār to take Zamīn Dāwar and Bust; and he repeats the suggestion as soon as he has reached Qandahār (Letter 25). Shujā', two years Aurangzīb's senior, would have had primacy of command, at Qandahār, were both brothers to sit down before that fort.

The letter is undated, and lacks the usual formal ending. The last days of February, 1652, or the first few days of March, are the period of its writing.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

[This murīd], who resembles a speck of dust, having kissed the ground of propriety with the lip of servitude, and having performed the formalities of devotion and the usual ceremonies of submission, brings it to the notice of the assembly of assiduous [courtiers about] Your Majesty that the exalted farmān, which had acquired the nobility of being issued out of the hidden store of immeasurable kindness and grace, has thrown out the shadow of its arrival at a grace-diffusing hour.

It was a cause of distinction and elevation, because of [the gift of] perfumes and incense-dust, (chūra)<sup>1</sup> whose smell

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1. Chūrā, powder ... a small piece, a fragment (Platts, 450) churna, powder ... dust, aromatic powder, pulvil, pounded sandal, sc; a digestive powder ... It is the second meaning that is meant. R. has chūh.

had filled the spirit of life with ambergris (ki dimāgh-i-jān az shamīm-i-ān 'ambarāgīn) and in whose praise the tongue of the pen scatters musk (mushk-afshān ast)<sup>1</sup>. He has become elevated through offering the salutations of acknowledgement. He does not know what style he should adopt, (namīdanad kudām 'ibārat paida kunad) nor what literary form he should call to his assistance (wa chi maẓmūn ba dast ārad) in expounding even the smallest detail of these rarities of the times. (ta shamma az khūbhā'i-i-īn nādīra-i-waqt bayān numāyad)<sup>2</sup>. [His] thanks for these gifts and presents, which resemble the limitless Divine benefits, are beyond the reach of the vast expanse of the imagination, and beyond the limits (hīṭa) of the [understanding of] mortal beings (chand u chūn).

May Almighty God extend the shadow of the benevolence and solicitude for the most insignificant beings of the true guide and preceptor over the heads of humble murīds! May he bestow (karāmat kunād) upon them a desire to please [that] heart of angelic penetration, which is a glass in which the universe is exhibited (jām-i-jahān-numa) and a mirror of the realities of worldly things (mir'āt-i-haqāiq-i-ashyā').

An exalted order obtained the nobility of issue; "That murīd should take the course of good relations with Muḥammad Shujā' Bahādur, and make him pleased with him (az khwud rāzī dārad); and should not leave a stone unturned (daqīqa az daqā'iq nāmar'ī naguzārad) [to secure] co-operation [with him]".

Hail to the qibla of the world<sup>3</sup> and its inhabitants! It is plain to all men mortals that the work of your Majesty's servants is the work of God (khudāsāz ast), and goes on with the fullest divine assistance, with no help (sa'ī, "effort") from any creature; and that whatever each man does, he does for himself. Praised be God, that this murīd, with the

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1. At the following word begins a lacuna in R. The rest of this letter, the whole of Letter 15, and the first four lines of Letter 16 are missing. There is no missing page; the lacuna begins at the foot of fo. 7A, and fo. 7B begins with Letter 16.

2. N. reads khūbīhā'i, and ān nādīra.

3. Ch. omits jahān (but not the preceding hamza or the following wāw).



blessing of direction from the true preceptor and guide, knows how to distinguish (bāz dānista) what is good for him (naf', "benefit") from what will do him harm (ḡarar "detriment"), and that he considers the promotion of the interests of his master, gibla, lord, and benefactor the most important object of his desire. He has no purpose apart from this. He hopes, that he will make Shujā' (Īshān rā) so pleased and contented with his good behaviour that after the victorious return from Qandahār, the state of our friendship (ḡusn-i-ittifāq) will become plain and apparent in the sight of [that] dwelling of grace, the sacred heart; and become [too] a cause of increasing the reputation of this murīd.

A lofty and sublime order was issued, that it was imperative for the royal cavalcade (maukab-i-mu'alla) to set off for Kābul, a very proper destination (ba ṣūb-i-bā ṣuwāb). Hail to the saintly preceptor! Murīds who are willing to lay down their lives (jān-niṣār, "life-strewing")<sup>1</sup> do not wish, that Your Majesty should go there in person (ki ān ḡaṡrat ba nafs-i-nafīs mutawajjuh shawand); yet because the [royal] mind, which resembles the sun, is the source of sacred illumination (ishrāqāt-i-quḡṡī) and the place from which invisible light descends; [and because] Your Majesty (the shadow of God) perceives and understands everything better than any man, with the aid of your god-given discernment and far-seeing wisdom; everything decreed by the kingdom-adorning will in this matter is the marrow of good policy and the essence of prudence.

It fell from the miracle-writing pen that one proposal (shiqq) was this, that the elder brother of this murīd, with the vizier of well-directed wisdom (wazīr-i-dānā'ī-i-ṣā'ib tadbīr) should besiege the fort of Qandahār, and take it. "That murīd, with Rustam Khān and other life-hazarding servants (bandahā'i-i-jān-shiyār), who would make a total of 20,000 horsemen, should march to the fort of Zamīn Dāwar, which lies across the approach of the accursed enemy, and

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1. These conventional expressions of loyalty and professions of bravery fall easily enough from Aurangzīb's pen. What he thought of them in later life appears from the introductory note to Letter 73, *infra*.

take it. We will send Rājā Jai Singh<sup>1</sup> and Rao Sattar Sāl<sup>2</sup> and others, who would be 15,000 horsemen altogether, to take the fort of Bust.

The other proposal is, that those two brothers should beseige and take those two forts; while the wise vizier, with the co-operation of a detachment of experienced soldiers, should devote himself to beseiging the fort of Qandahār.

Of these two proposals, let that murīd indicate which he prefers".

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1. The outlines of the life of the famous Mīrzā Rājā Jai Singh Kachhwāha of Amber (c.1600-1667) are well known, and his last years have recently been documented in detail by Professor Jagadīsh Nārāyaṇ Sarkār in The Military Despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian General. He was already one of the highest grandes of the Empire. See M.U.II (text), 568-577.

2. Chhatra Sāl (always called Sattar Sāl in Persian sources) was the Hādā chief of Bundī. There is a life in M.U.II, 260-263 (text). He succeeded his grandfather Rao Ratan as Rājā of Bundī in 1631, and given the rank of 3000/2000. Until 1642 he served with distinction in the Deccan; he accompanied Aurangzīb to court in 1642, and remained behind, being assigned to the expedition there preparing under Dārā against Qandahār, which was abandoned on news of the death of Shāh Ṣafī I. He was in Balkh with Murād Bakhsh, and sought to return to India with that light-headed prince, but was turned back at Peshāwar (M.U.II, 262). He returned to Balkh with Aurangzīb's force in 1647; served under Aurangzīb at Qandahār in 1649, now promoted 3500/3500; again in 1652; and under Dārā in 1653.

In 1656 he was sent to serve under Aurangzīb again; he took part in the successful sieges of Bīdār in 1657 (which fort the legend of his clan claimed he carried single-handed, Tod, I, 408) and Kalyānī, and was with Aurangzīb when ordered to Court. He complied at once, without taking formal leave of his commander. He died at Samugarh, impetuously charging Murād Bakhsh, who himself shot the arrow that killed him.

It is not concealed from the sight of the mind, luminous as the sun, of the true preceptor and guide, that this murīd knows nothing but carrying out of commands, obedience, and conformity to the imperial order. Whatever occurs to the most sacred heart is the essence of appropriateness;<sup>1</sup> [for] the qibla of the inhabitants of the world is the wisest [man] of the times<sup>2</sup> and the most learned of the age, and is aware of everything that happens; (jamī' umūr dānā and) and everything that occurs to the happy heart is [therefore] most proper and most fit.

It is said, "whoever is commanded has no choice of his own". This murīd begs to submit (in accordance with his worthless knowledge), that if it has been decided by the lofty mind (himmat-i-wālā)<sup>3</sup> that the forts of Zamīn Dāwar and Bust should be taken before the fort of Qandahār, he would certainly prefer, in those circumstances, the first proposal.

After reaching Zamīn Dāwar this murīd will, God willing and in accordance with the imperial order, be vigilant of the God-forsaken and accursed enemy (ghanīm-i-mardūd wa maqhūr). Indeed, with [the aid of] the world-subduing good fortune, he will not draw rein (hich jā 'unān bāz nakashīda) until he reaches Herāt, and will exterminate the wretched enemy (damār az rozgār-i-mu'ānidān-i-nābakār khwāhad bar āwurd).

(The letter wants a formal ending)

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1. Maḥẓ-i-ṣawab ast. I.O. reads maḥẓ-i-sipāhī.
  2. N. prefers to omit zamān, present in his S and 'U.
  3. Ch. has muḥabbat-i wālā, an odd error.

LETTER 16

With this letter, marking the commencement of the Qandahār campaign, the practice of translating the ceremonial greetings and acknowledgements is abandoned. Sufficient has been given to indicate the content of these formalised effusions. The use of the third rather than the first person pronoun, both by Aurangzīb and of him, is retained in this translation until he enters Burhānpūr as governor on 9 February 1653 (Letter 49).

Aurangzīb emerged from Multān on Monday, 8 Isfandārmuz, equivalent to 26 February 1652 or 15 Rabī'I 1062, and tarried long in the environs, awaiting an "auspicious moment" to continue his march.

In the body of this letter, Aurangzīb refers to recent letter, delivered by the yasāwal Muḥammad Beg, written by the Emperor himself. It is in this letter that Aurangzīb is given leave to select himself his road to Qandahār.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of two farmans : one dated Thursday, 4 Isfandārmuz and delivered by jalaudārs on Sunday 7th; and the other dated Friday, 5 Isfandārmuz and delivered by Muḥammad Sharīf on the morning of [Monday] 8th.<sup>1</sup> [The latter] came just as this murīd had marched out from Multān at the hour which had been fixed (sā'at-i-muqarrar).

Brief conventional thanks.

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1. These dates are, respectively, Thursday 22 February, 1652, and Sunday 25; and Friday, 23 February, 1652, and Monday 26th. Aurangzīb received the later letter "at the very moment" (dar ḥīnī ki) he marched out of Multān, on 26 February 1652. Chaudhurī's calculation of 14 Rabī'I 1062 is one day too soon; and that date was a Sunday. Sir Jādūnāth is right, as almost always : 16 February Old Style is equivalent to 26 February New Style (Aurangzīb, I, p.135n.)

The text of I.0. has been tampered with, and reads: roz-i-panjshamba chahār-i-zī-ḥijja panjum-i-Isfandār. The correct text, clear in B.M. and R., apparently clear in Ch.'s Lāhorī ms., and followed by N. without noting any variants, is: roz-i-panjshamba chahārum wa juma' panjum-i-Isfandārmuz. Has some scribe attempted a synchronism? 4 Zī-Ḥijja, 1061 fell on 18 December, 1651, a Saturday.



[The following] world-obeyed order obtained the adornment of being issued : " Since there will not be ten thousand men altogether with that murīd at present, We therefore command: 'That murīd had better march from Multān by the road running to Deh-i-Shaikh, rather than by the Bhīra road, which is distant forty cos [at its nearest point from the road taken by] Our forces (īn lashkar).<sup>1</sup> However, let it be as that murīd wishes'. The victorious army en route from Kābul, passing through Ghaznī at the beginning<sup>2</sup> of Urdibihisht, [will] reach Qaudahar, God willing, on the fifteenth day. If that murīd decides to go by the direct route, then he should march so as to be at Qūshinj by the fifteenth of Urdibihisht, and to reach Qandahār ten days after that."

Hail to the true preceptor and guide! As has been submitted earlier there are no proper reports of the road which connects Multān with Deh-i-Shaikh. However, this much is clear from the reports of those people who have some knowledge (qadar-i-ittilā')<sup>3</sup>: one stage, about twenty cos [long] is entirely devoid of water, (āb mutlaqan nadārad) and there are several other stations which are apparently ill-supplied with provisions for the victorious army.

Since in the royal missive glittering with light, which had previously scattered the brilliance of its arrival [after being] brought by Muhammed Beg the yasawal,<sup>4</sup> it had acquired the elegance of being written by the jewelled pen, which traces lines of bliss, that that murīd should choose one of those three roads; he, considering that the command which deserves obedience (wājibu'l ittibā') was binding, wished to march by the Bhīra road, of whose features he was

1. This very crabbed sentence reads, in part: ... "mī-farmāyīm ki agar az Multān ba rāhī, ki ba Deh-i-Shaikh mīrasad, berawad, bihtar ast chi ba rah-i-Bhīra, chihāl kuroh az īn lashkar dūrī uftād.

2. ghurra, the beginning of the month (initium mensis) Vullers quotes from Bahāri 'Ajam: Vullers, II, 607 ad calc.

3. N. has ittīlā'i: not so mss. nor Ch.

4. This letter is not one of the two Aurangzīb has just acknowledged, although Chaudhurī in his note (p.48) imagines that it is. It was probably brought before either of them, has been acknowledged in a letter not preserved, and is again being referred to. It (unlike the other two) was written by the Emperor himself.

aware.<sup>1</sup>

But at the moment this exalted order arrived, he paid no more attention to the [small] number and [poor] conditions (kammīyat wa kaifīyat) of his soldiers and camp-followers. God willing, he shall set off along that direct road, and shall reach Qūshinj, in accordance with the imperial order, on the 15th of Urdībihisht. He will send a body of men ahead with the zamīndārs who are to collect the provisions. (ki āzūga-rā farāham āwurand)

May the sun of the Caliphate continue to shine from its seat of world subjugation!

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1. This may be a politic colouring-over of Aurangzīb's real feelings. When this route was first suggested to him, he protested; his protests about the waterless stretch on the road he is being directed to take will allow him to avoid bearing all the blame, if the troops suffer.

LETTER 17

Still further gifts are brought to Aurangzīb. By these public demonstrations of munificence, the Emperor hoped to spur his commanders to emulation, and show his lesser officers the benefits they might earn by jān-niṣārī.

The Emperor still contemplates directing the campaign, and announces his departure from Lahore, while Aurangzīb, fretting at being restrained in the purlieus of Multān while he might have been marching to Qandahār (and perhaps Herāt!) points out that had he marched when ready, by the route he preferred, he would have been in the mountains by now, at least a fortnight's march ahead.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a farmān delivered by Muḥammad Mīrak<sup>1</sup> late on Wednesday, 26 Rabī' I (7 March, 1652),<sup>2</sup> with a gift of a turban-ornament of diamonds (kalgī-i-almās).<sup>3</sup>

Profuse thanks.

In the royal missive glittering with light it was written: "Shāh Nawāz Khān<sup>4</sup> and Qulīch Khān,<sup>5</sup> who are in Bhīra, have been issued with orders to report to that murīd as quickly as they can. We Ourselves (mā ba mabārakī) shall arrive at [a point] four cos from the river Chenāb on

1. Muḥammad Mīrak, by then a gurzburdār, was to carry a letter from Shāhjahānābād to Aurangābād in five days; see Letter 98, *infra*.

2. By misreading bīst o shashum as bīst o nuhum, Chaudhurī dates this letter 10 March 1652. Neither the mss. nor the calendar support him.

3. cf the note on sarpech in Letter 13, *supra*. Ch. prefers the form kalkī with the ya'-i-majhūl.

4. Shāh Nawāz Khān Safawī (c. 1590-1659) the father of Aurangzīb's wife Dilrās Bānū Begam (c. 1620-1657), was to die in Dārā's ranks at Deorai in 1659. There are 32 letters to him in the Ādāb, ranging from the birth of 'Āzam to the Bījāpūr campaign. One is quoted in Letter 55, *infra*; in Letter 77 are further references. Life in M.U. II, 670-676 (text)

5. Bhīra was the tuyūl of Qulīch (or Qulīj) Khān Tūrānī, who died there in 1064/1653-54 (M.U. III, 94). He had been an early servant of Shah Jahan, was promoted on his

Sunday, the 21st of Rabī'I<sup>1</sup>

Hail to the true perceptor and guide! Although the world-subduing and kingdom-decorating mind of your Majesty is constantly (hama waqt) engaged in great affairs, and will continue so, the undertaking of this fortunate journey, which has occurred to the happy heart through the guidance of invisible inspiration and the fullest divine support (maḥz-i-tā'id-i-ilahī) is of such a kind that it could become an ornament in the illustrious list of the great deeds (tarāz-i-ma'āṣir-i-himam) of powerful rulers. May Almighty God keep the world and its inhabitants satisfied and contented under the traditions of clime-subduing arrangements and world adorning decisions!

Had this delay<sup>2</sup> not been imposed upon him, this murīd would by now have reached Chacha.<sup>3</sup> After the arrival of [those] nobles, he would, with the divine favour, cross the Indus even now; and so manage the journey, that he would reach Qandahar, God willing, on the 15th of the month of Urdībihisht.<sup>4</sup>

Hail to the gibla and ka'ba of the two worlds! On <sup>[following the day]</sup> the Thursday above-mentioned, Muḥammad Ṣafī arrived, with a special robe of honour, two boxes (ḥuqqa) of perfume, a female elephant, complete with harness (bā talā'ir)<sup>5</sup> and two horses, as gifts for this murīd. This sincere servant offers the greetings of a [true] disciple; with these invaluable gifts, he has collected more and more nobility.

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5. (contd. from previous page)

accession, and after a proud career was promoted 5000/5000 (2h 3h) on returning from the first siege of Qandahār, where he served under Aurangzīb. He was a great benefactor of Multān; he bought up and cleared away the houses crowding around the tomb of Shaikh Bahā'u'd-dīn Zakarīya (c.1180-1262) and "built high roads from Lahore to Multān" (ibid. 95).

1. 2 March 1652.

2. Sc., the delay of preparing for a march by a route he did not want to follow.

3. When he finally set out, Aurangzīb took seventeen days from his crossing of the Chenāb to reach Chacha, which lies in the first range of mountains to the west of the Indus.

4. 5 May, 1652.

5. N. reads bā talāya, here as elsewhere. Ch. omits the word altogether. See the note upon it in Letter 50, infra.



The Arab horse is very quiet and well-broken (khailī āramīda wa khwush-jilau ast); such a horse has rarely been presented to this murīd in recent years.<sup>1</sup> And how can he himself praise the elephant? It is very well-behaved, and of good disposition; and has all the usual accomplishments. (ba šifātī ki bāyad ārāstagī dārad).

By the power of the Almighty (honoured be his name!) may the sheltering shade of the boundless generosity and favour of the preceptor and guide of the worlds remain for ever (mustadām) over the heads of other murīds in general, and of this murīd in particular!

May the gates of conquest and triumph be thrown open before the supporters of the state so regularly victorious! (nuṣrat shi'ār).<sup>2</sup>

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1. Aurangzīb's words are: dar īn muddat chunīn aspī ba īn murīd kamtar 'ināyat shuda. He also uses the phrase 'inayat shuda būd in acknowledging the gift. It seems plain, that Aurangzīb, a fine horseman who would still mount and ride fifty years later (cf Manucci, II, 324) was especially pleased with this present. That his father had not given him more of what he valued so highly reflects the yet concealed strain in their relations.

2. This is in effect a second formal conclusion, following the expressions of loyalty at the end of Aurangzīb's thanks for the Emperor's special gifts. Although it occurs in the mss, it may perhaps represent an alternative ending, drafted but not used in the original.

LETTER 18

Astrological considerations have arisen, and Aurangzīb agrees to put off his crossing of the Chenāb for another week. It is worth noting, that he has no objection to using the Ilahī calendar himself, when the context suits it.

His piety is not so thorough-going as to rebuke his father for maintaining, in the useful solar calendar, one of Akbar's numerous uncanonical innovations.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a royal letter (manshūr-i-karāmat zuhūr) written by the Emperor himself on 22 Isfandār<sup>1</sup> and delivered by two yasāwals on Sunday, 6 Rabī'II (17 March, 1652).

Brief formal thanks.

It was written : "Since the 23rd of Urdībihisht is a most auspicious day ("moment") and since the armies, resembling heaven, which have been sent by the Ghaznī road will reach Qandahār on that day, that murīd ought likewise arrive there that day".

Hail to the qibla of the two worlds! Since the day of the arrival of the victorious armies at Qandahār had been previously fixed for the 15th of Urdībihisht, this loyal murīd set his sights upon that date, (nazr ba ān karda) and would have liked to leave the banks of the Chenāb on 23 March 1652/Thursday, the 2nd of Farwardīn, and cross the water. But now that the world-adorning will, brilliant as the sun, has made, through divine inspiration, this choice, [sc; of the 23rd Urdībihisht] he will remain a few days in his present encampment. Almighty God willing, this murīd, accompanied by the servants of the Court, the refuge of rulers, who have been designated to march with him, will make the journey so as to reach Qandahār at the time now fixed.<sup>2</sup>

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1. This shorter form appears in all the mss. here. The date is equivalent to 13 March, 1652.

2. ba sā'at-i-muqarrar-i-hāl. Should one infer a slight tinge of exasperation?

The hope [of this murīd] is, that the Universal Conqueror, through his [own] grace and benevolence, and by the power of your Majesty's fortune, rising in the firmament, may make, in the fittest manner, this wonderful victory the reward of the supporters of the everlasting state.

## LETTER 19

Were Shāh Jahān rebuking Aurangzīb for wasting time outside Multān, instead of pushing on, we would sympathise; but the Emperor is concerned, not that Aurangzīb tarried twelve days, but that he tarried in the wrong place. Aurangzīb replies that he has delayed in exactly the way the Court astrologers had recommended.

The orthodox reject astrology, and the Qur'ān is generally regarded as condemning it : e.g. LXVII, 5. Neither as Prince nor as Emperor did Aurangzīb permit orthodoxy to disturb a superstition so strongly held by so many of his subjects, and to all seeming so inexpensive to the state. Occasions such as this, when the advantage of a prompt start were thrown away, should have encouraged rational reflection upon their results.

It was a normal practice for an army to delay a few days outside the town at the beginning of a march, to settle the order of march and allow the camp-followers to come up; but there is no word of that here.

Aurangzīb's reaction to news of Shujā's determined march from Bengal, despite his illness, is restrained. Behind it can be seen relief at the probability that he will reach the theatre of war before Shujā'. In 1679, Aurangzīb might have recalled this occasion; he had summoned his son 'Āzam from Bengal, and that young prince, unburdened by illness, marched rapidly. He covered the distance between Benares and Delhi in twelve days : Ma'āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī, (text), 183.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a farmān delivered by jalaudārs late on Saturday afternoon, 12 Rabī'II [1062] (24 March 1652).

Brief formal thanks.

It has obtained the adornment of being written: "Two letters from that murīd arrived on Friday, which was the day of our auspicious lunar weighing."<sup>1</sup> The jalaudārs report,

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1. On 29 Rabī'I 1062, Shāh Jahān might have celebrated his 62nd lunar birthday - the 63rd according to Indian reckoning, and the grand climacteric. He was born at Lahore on 29 Rabī'I 1000/15 January 1592 (N.S.) The tables show, however, that 29 Rabī'I 1062 was a Sunday (10 March 1652) Might the actual celebration have been held on Friday, 15 March? Shāh Jahān had indicated that it would be held at Hasan Abdāl (Letter 13, supra).



that that murīd was at the first station for eight days. So much delay at the first station is, in the opinion of the astrologers, (pesh-i-ahl-i-nujūm) improper. It would have been appropriate to have marched one cos further, and to have tarried there for some days".

Hail to the saintly protector! This murīd, who knows the nature (mizāj-dān<sup>1</sup>) [of Your Majesty], and has received direction from his excellent and most perfect guide, well understands the will of that sacred soul, departed from Multān as the evening of the sixteenth of Rabī'I<sup>2</sup>, in accordance with the imperial order, at an auspicious ("chosen",) hour. One cos from the city, he halted. After halting for two days, he then, on Thursday the 19th,<sup>3</sup> came one cos forward from that station, and in this [new] encampment stopped for ten days. On the last day (salkh) of that month,<sup>4</sup> he encamped on the banks of the river [Chenāb]. Departing thence, by the grace of the Almighty, on the 17th Rabī'II,<sup>5</sup> he will cross the river (āb)<sup>6</sup> and march so as to reach Qandahār on the 23rd of Urdībihisht,<sup>7</sup> about the time that the armies, resembling heaven, should arrive there. The true account of the facts may have reached your Majesty's ear from the news [writer] of Multān; doubtless the jalaudārs made their report in ignorance.

It was written by the jewelled pen, scattering gems: "We had written a farmān to the elder brother of that murīd,<sup>8</sup> that since he could not arrive in time because of the illness which beset him on the way he should turn back, and return to Bengal. [But] the sense of honour of a son of

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1. A favourite term of Jahāngīr for confidential advisers who knew all his moods - "who know my disposition". See (e.g.) Tūzuk (R. & B.),

2. 26 February, 1652.

3. 1 March, 1652.

4. Monday, 11 March 1652. This calculation gives 29 days to Rabī'I, 1062, but only thus can the tables be reconciled.

5. Thursday, 28 March, 1652.

6. sc. the Chenāb.

7. Tuesday, 14 May, 1652.

8. Shujā'.

Ours did not suffer that son to turn back, and he set off by forced marches to wait upon Us. He may perhaps arrive to attend upon Us at the very moment of the encampment of the royal cavalcade at Kābul; [if so], he will take his leave the next day, and join the victorious army at Ghaznī".

Hail to the qibla and ka'ba of this murīd! Whatever has cast its brilliance upon the heart of angelic penetration through the high spirit and fortitude of the person of the Crown Prince of Mortals (Bādshāhzāda-i-jahāniyān) is quite clear. Indeed (arī) it is imperative that life-hazarding murīds remain just as steadfast [as he] upon the path of devotion and service.

God be praised, that he has been blessed with a perfect recovery (ṣiḥḥat-i-kamāl naṣīb-i-īshān shuda) through the tender care of your Majesty's mind, the dwelling-place of holy thoughts, and that he has directed his energies towards rapid marching [to attain] the honour of [being allowed to perform] the sacred ceremony of kissing [Your Majesty's] foot, (paibos-i-aqdas) which is the highest point of the ambition of the fortunate. [This murid] hopes that [Shuja'] may, after reaping abundantly the benefits of an audience, join the victorious army; so that they might be able to make a concerted effort to advance the interests of their guide and master.

May the Lord Almighty give the supporters of the ever-enduring state aid and victory, and cause the inhabited world to be brilliantly illuminated (rosh wa munawwar) by the light of the world-warming sun of the Caliphate.

## Letter 20

At last, Aurangzīb has crossed the Chenāb and began his march in earnest, over a month after he had quitted the city of Multān on 26 February 1652. This letter was probably written after Aurangzīb had completed his crossing of the Chenāb on 30 March, and perhaps on the evening of that day.

He reports, as in duty bound, the arrangements he has made for the administration of his sūbah during his absence. His harem would have accompanied him as his first short marches; but before crossing the Chenāb he dismisses them, to be guarded within the walls of Multān. It does not appear that any women accompanied Aurangzīb to Qandahār, and it seems that when abruptly dismissed to the Deccan it was his entire family that he summoned from Multān (which he was forbidden to re-visit) to meet him on the road through the Lakhī Jungle (Letter 43). However, there would have been an establishment sufficient for his two sons Muḥammad Sultān and Mu'azzam (aged twelve and eight). These letters say nothing of their presence; but Shāh Jahān gave the boys a special audience, and gifts, when sending their father to the Deccan from Kābul (Amal-i-Sālih, III, 153).

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a royal letter (manshūr lāmi'u'n-nūr) delivered by jalaudārs on Thursday, 17 Rabī'II (28 March, 1652).

Brief conventional thanks.

Hail to the qibla of the two worlds! On Saturday, 19 [Rabī'II] (30 March, 1652) this entirely devoted one, with your Majesty's two household slaves set off, by the Grace of God, from the banks of the river of Multān (sc. the Chenāb) and safely crossed the water.<sup>1</sup> To the other household slaves, and to the servants (parastārān<sup>2</sup>) he gave leave to [return to] the town. From among his own attendants, he left Mīr Murād Māzandarānī<sup>3</sup>, with six hundred horsemen, to take care of the province, he appointed a thousand horsemen to the service of

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1. Two days later than he had planned : Letter 19.

2. This term includes female servants, slaves, and secondary wives.

3. This man may not have accompanied Aurangzīb to the Deccan, as he is not mentioned again in the correspondence. In 1658, however, he was among those who marched from Burhānpūr and was ennobled by the aspiring Aurangzīb. His title was Dilāwar Khān. He probably did not survive long; others successively were entitled Dilāwar Khān during Aurangzīb's long reign. The third has a biography in the Ma'āshiru'l Umarā (text. II, 686-688): one Shaikh 'Abdu'l-'azīz.

the faujdār of Bhakkar and Sīwīstān, and the remainder of his forces, of which the details will be apparent to your Majesty from the daily reports of the news-writers of the victorious army, he took along with him. God willing, he shall cross the Indus after four more stages; then, after making two halts he will move ahead in continuous marches.

Hail to the saintly protector! Several<sup>1</sup> stages of the road are steep and narrow (koṭalhā wa tanghā dārad) and there is not enough water and fodder to satisfy the needs of the victorious army all at once. It therefore occurs to the dull wit (khātīr-i-fātīr) of this murīd, that the conquering armies should effect their passage to the confines of Qandahār in detachments (pesh wa pas) and proceed thence, according to [your Majesty's] commands, in full marching order (bā tūzuk-i-tamām) to their objective.

May the true Giver of Victory (honoured be his name) associate the supporters of the ever-flourishing state with fresh triumphs, and open before the face of the good fortune of the slaves with traditions of success the gates of victory and conquest.



LETTER 21

This letter was written immediately after Aurangzīb had crossed the Indus on 5 April 1652. He had sent a scout ahead to Qūshinj (Pishin) the most considerable market on the route, and the scout has already returned with information, which has been sent on to the Emperor.

The imperial news-writers, responsible directly to the Court, were independent of even the greatest sūbahdārs and were expected to report fully and accurately upon them. Breach of a waqā'i'-nawīs' confidentiality was a serious offence; and for a news-writer to exaggerate or mitigate, was equally punishable.<sup>1</sup>

Aurangzib's careful conciliation of the Balūch and Afghān chieftains is now showing fruit. He has so well managed matters that no disturbance marked his march to Qandahār. The British, taking the same route in 1878 and 1879, were not so fortunate.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations.

Through the infinite favour of the Lord, this murīd has reached the banks of the Indus in four marches, without interruption, from the station of Langar.<sup>2</sup> There he stopped for one day, that the victorious army might cross over; on the 25th of Rabī'-uṣ-ṣānī,<sup>3</sup> the river was crossed. God willing, he will proceed from this position (sc. the western bank of the Indus) by continuous marches towards the objective, and will take along with him Hājī Roncha, Mubārak Balūch,<sup>4</sup> and the Nāhars with the [other] forces detailed to attend to this business.

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1. Examples of inflexible severity in enforcing these rules are in the Aḥkām-i-'Ālamgīrī: 13, 61, 62 and 64 in Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār's translation, pp.55 115, 116 & 118 respectively. An anecdote of 1695, when Shāh 'Ālam was marching to his viceroyalty of Multān, relates to his nāzīr, or superintendent of the harem, whose duties were similar; *ibid*, 14, p.57.

2. A place not located by me, but obviously in the vicinity of the modern Muzaḥfargarh, and perhaps connected with a Muslim holy man's tomb. Nadwī reads Lashkar; his 'U, obviously derived from an inferior original, has 'Asākir-i-fāṭir! S apparently reads Fāṭir. If really so, the blunder is incredible, since S. was copied from I.O.

3. Friday, 5 April, 1652.

4. This is the man whom Isma'īl Haut had been oppressing in 1650; Letter 1.

Hail to the saintly protector! The territory belonging to the Balūchīs was found to be (ba nazr dar āmad) very well cultivated and thickly populated. There is much fine cultivation, irrigated through flooding [of rivers] (sailābī) and wells. Almost everywhere there are delightful fresh meadows.<sup>1</sup>

Asad, an attendant upon this murīd, who had been sent ahead of the victorious army from the banks of the Chenāb, to assuage the fears (tasliyat wa dil-asay) zamīndārs, and to organise the collection of provisions in that area, should reach Chacha about that date (sc. 25 Rabī'-II). He will proceed thence to Qūshinj, stage by stage. (manzil ba manzil)

Hail to the qibla and ka'ba of this murīd! A true report of the market prices of goods (nir<sup>kh</sup>-i-ajnās) current at that station (sc. Qūshinj) might have reached your Majesty from the journal (roznāmcha) of the news-writer (waqā'ī) of the victorious army.

May the true Deliverer (exalted be his power) cause the supporters of the imperishable state to prevail and be victorious! May He display in the most fitting manner the desires of the sacred heart upon the stage (munassa-i-zuhūr) of manifestation!

LETTER 22

Aurangzīb has reached Chacha in eleven days of marching from the right bank of the Indus. The mission of Aurangzīb's representative Asad continues to be successful.

The principal news in the letter is the return of the wandering melon-buyer. It seems almost incredible that the man could not have made his way back before this; perhaps he was a native of Qandahār, and did not choose to enter Mughul territory, and perhaps be disgraced by his master, from whom he had been so long away. If so, he might have imagined that to appear now, with useful information and some fine melons for the Emperor's table, would be to his advantage, and his absence might be forgiven.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations.

[This murīd] informs your exalted majesty that he reached Chacha, by divine grace, on the seventh of Jumādā I<sup>1</sup>. He shall continue the journey just as he had come there, by continuous marches; God willing, he shall reach the destination at the appointed time. A report of the abundance of water at this station (sc., Chacha) and of the plenty of fodder and provisions might have reached your Majesty in detail in the news-writer's journal.

Asad, who was sent [ahead] by this murīd, passed through Chutiālī<sup>2</sup> on the date written [above] and marched ahead. The zamindars of those parts, realising that their security (najāt) depended upon their loyalty to the Court, the refuge of rulers, put forward the foot of obedience, and waited upon him (u ra dīd, "saw him").

Hail to the qibla of the two worlds! This murīd, the soul of devotion, had sent one of his attendants from Multān, in the days when Daulat<sup>3</sup> was honoured by being commandant of Qandahār,

1. Tuesday, 16 April, 1652.

2. I.O. carelessly has ḥab lī.

3. This is Daulat Khān Ma'ī, who lost his nerve and gave up the fortress to Shah 'Abbās II on 21 February, 1649. A life, with lengthy reflections on his unworthy behaviour, is in M.U. II, 24-30.

to bring [him] melons, grown on irrigated fields.<sup>1</sup> [This person], because of the perils<sup>2</sup> of the journey [fled northwards] and passed some time at Mashhad. Just now, on the third of this month he has reached Sang-i-Darra, 20 days' march from Qandahār. The news that he has divulged will be set out in a separate paper.

All the melons that were worth sending<sup>3</sup> have been despatched to the Court, the refuge of the world, by the Bhīra road. It is hoped, that they arrive safely. Further boldness would far exceed the bounds of propriety, and the letter is concluded with prayers for the permanence of the state and of its good fortune.<sup>4</sup>

May the sun of the Caliphate and of its rule continue to shine upon the heads of the inhabitants of the inhabited quarters of the globe!

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1. N. kharbuza-i-kariz. His spelling has been preferred to I.O.'s kharpuza.

2. Mss. fitrāt; N. khatrāt, noting kharāb in 'U and khatrāt(sic) in S.

3. Surely the spring crop of 1652, and not of 1649!

4. This formula is more usually found in letters from ordinary subjects to officers of government.



### LETTER 23

Aurangzib can congratulate himself upon the excellent success of his commissariat arrangements. Provisions, and local chieftains, have come in; the country is quiet; writing from Dukī on 25 April 1652, he is quietly confident of success.

Under the influence, perhaps, of the fortunate course of events so far, he agrees to co-operate with Sa'du'llāh Khān in besieging Qandahār, abandoning for the present his hope of gaining individual laurels in a subsidiary action.

The brief account of Chutiālī is a valuable addition to topographical knowledge, and an excellent example of Aurangzib's terse concise style.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God'

Conventional salutations.

Acknowledgement of a farmān (farmān-i-sa'adat-'unwān) written on 18 Rabī'II / 29 March 1652 in the Farāḥ Afza garden<sup>1</sup> and delivered on Monday morning, 3 Urdībihisht / 24 April 1652,<sup>2</sup> just as Aurangzīb began his march to Chutiālī.

Formal thanks.

Hail to the qibla of this murīd! Letters were despatched after the crossing of the Chenāb, by jalaudārs (runners) of the sublime court, in response to the exalted farmān;<sup>3</sup> again, after crossing the Indus, from the station of Lakia,<sup>4</sup> carried by some Afghān foot-soldiers; and from Chacha as well, with news from Persia.<sup>5</sup> Surely they must have been brought to your Majesty's ears by now.

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1. This may have been one of the gardens of Ḥasan Abdāl, where the Emperor might still have been tarrying. Of it Aurangzib says, ki ismī ast bā musammi.

2. Letters have been reaching Aurangzib within a week. This letter has been four weeks on the way. If Aurangzib felt that any remark was necessary, he has made it elsewhere.

3. Letter 20, probably written on 30 March 1652.

4. This is probably not Letter 21, which was apparently written from a camp close to the Indus, shortly after crossing it.

5. Sc., the report of Aurangzib's wandering melon-merchant; Letter 22.

Hail to the gibla and ka'ba of this murīd! The journey from the station of Lakia<sup>1</sup> to Chutiālī was effected (tai-i-musāfat shuda būd) by continuous marches. Because the pass was stony,<sup>2</sup> (sanglākh) and the road hilly, (nishīb wa farāz) the porters and beasts of burden of the victorious army suffered great hardships. So, to rest the beasts, (ba jihat-i-nafs rāst kardan-i-dawābb) and to collect supplies, a halt was made in Chutiālī on Tuesday, the 14th of Jumādā I (corresponding to the 4th of Urdībihisht)<sup>3</sup>. This letter is being written on the 15th of the above month (sc., Jumādā I) and the camp has been pitched at Dukī,<sup>4</sup> two cos from [Chutiali]. God willing, he shall reach Qūshinj from this camp in nine days. There, too, he shall halt for one day, to gather provisions; he shall arrive at Qandahār in the space of eight<sup>5</sup> more days, on the 23rd of Urdībihisht, corresponding to the 3rd of Jumādā II.<sup>6</sup>

This murīd will besiege the fort in accordance with the world-obeyed order, co-operating with the Khān, the model of felicity (sc., Sa'dullāh Khān). Were the well-wishers<sup>7</sup> of the state to think it proper, (ṣalāh dānand) that he should advance a few cos ahead of Qandahār and pitch his camp in the direction of Zamīn Dāwar and Bust, this murīd would appoint Rustam Khān Bahādur, Fīrūz Jang,<sup>8</sup> with the army that he

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1. The mss have Lakah, a better reading than that of Letter 21.

2. Sanglakh is struck out in I.O., and lākh written in the margin, in the same hand.

3. Tuesday, 24 April 1652 is right for 14 Jumādā I, 1062, but not for 4 Urdībihisht, which comes out to 25 April.

4. Here spelt Dūkī in the mss.

5. N. has a clerical error: hashsh.

6. Sunday, 12 May 1652; the date fixed by the Emperor (Letter 18).

7. For daulatkhwāhān N. has daulatkhahan.

8. A life of this renowned warrior, who had exchanged service with the failing Nizām Shāhī state for a splendid career under the Mughuls, is in M.U. II, 270-276. He was to fall fighting against Aurangzīb and Murād at Samugarh.

leads as a vanguard in accordance with the exalted order; his own men he will dispose in the left and right wings, in compliance with the previous command.

Hail to the saintly cherisher of murīds! News of the wretched enemy (ghanīm-i-la'īm) was written in the gracious farmān, by way of kindness to slaves. It is quite likely (ẓann-i-ghālib ast) that they do not intend to fight in battle array; (irāda-i-jang-i-saff nakunand ) the very thought which has cast its brilliance upon the sacred heart. It is the firm hope of this life-hazarding servant that by the bounty and clemency of the All-Powerful (honoured be His name) he will be able, whichever way that tribe of rebels may advance, to knock the stuffing from those faithless fellows, (damār az rozgār-i-ān badkeshān barāwurda)<sup>1</sup> with [whatever] number of men may be with him, and, by the world-subduing Imperial good fortune, to give them a good trouncing and crush them utterly.

Hail to the saintly protector! At the close of the aforesaid day<sup>2</sup> a letter arrived from this murīd's attendant Asad. He said, that by fortunate guidance the brother of Sher Khān [Tarīn]<sup>3</sup> had received the grace of willingness, to serve loyally the Court, the refuge of the world, and has desired an audience of him. After the arrival of the armies, glorious as the heavens, he shall accompany Asad from that locality, and attend upon this murīd.

Hail to the qibla of this servant! The town (qaṣba) of Chutiālī is populated by about (takhmīnan) 300 Afghān householders altogether, of the Tarīn tribe. Wheat and barley are much cultivated, and grow well. At the end of the town is a spring, whose flow is about sufficient to turn two

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1. Another example of this rather hackneyed phrase.

2. Presumably roz-i-tahrīr-i-arzdāsht, 15 Jumādā I / 25 April.

3. There is a long life of Sher Khān Tarīn in M.U. II, 654-658. He was given charge of Qūshinj when it fell to Shāh 'Abbās I in 1621, but in 1631 presented himself at Shāh Jahān's court. He was given the rank of 2000, fertile jāgīrs in the Panjāb, and a command under Shujā' at the siege of Parenda. In 1636 he was suspected of intrigue with Shāh Ṣafī I, and deprived of rank and jāgīr; he died, confined in Āgra on an allowance of Rs 1000 a month, about 1642. Tuberculosis killed him, still "in the flower of his youth".

water-mills (qarīb ba dū asiyā-i-āb<sup>....</sup> mīguzarad). The day the halt took place, the market-rate of barley was 9 [dāms] a seer. The victorious army also obtained other [kinds of] grain, and fodder.

[This murīd] detached 50 of his own horsemen, and 200 of Ḥājī Balūch's, to form a garrison in Chacha; God willing, he shall leave garrisons in Dukī and Qūshinj too.

May the world-illuminating sun of the Caliphate and [its] government remain lustrous (tāli', "rising") and brilliant (lāmi') upon the horizon of clime-subduing and world-subjugation!



LETTER 24

Written on 28 Jumādā I, 1062 / 7 May, 1652, after crossing the Panj Mandrak pass, this is one of the most interesting letters in the collection. The most important matter it deals with is the successful seduction of Daulat Tarīn from Persian service; the manner in which the Mughuls set out to entice him to their side is clearly disclosed. The etiquette of managing these frontier chiefs did not change greatly in succeeding centuries.

The descriptions of Dukī, the fort of Tabaq, and the town of Qūshinj are concise and informative, and would not be found unsatisfactory in a modern traveller's handbook. These, and the note on the declivities of the pass (which is to be identified with the Khojak) would have been entered up in the records kept at Court, a specimen of which had been sent to Aurangzīb the year before, to allow him to make suggestions upon the routes to be taken.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

The murīd of sincere character performs the customary duties of submission and the formalities of devotion, and humbly informs your Majesty that on Thursday the 16th of Jumādā I<sup>1</sup> he set off from [his camp] two cos from Dukī, which is a town with more people than Chutiālī, containing about (takhmīnan) five hundred householders of Afghans, of the Tarīn tribe. Outside it is a small mud fort (qila'cha-i-gilīn) and an insignificant little garden (bāghicha-i-mukhtaṣarī) [Before] advancing, he appointed 'Ālam Barkī, an imperial manṣabdār, to garrison the place, (ba thānadārī-i-ānjā)<sup>2</sup> with thirty matchlock-men and archers from his own forces, and a hundred horsemen from the Nāhar levies of the zamīndārs of Sītpūr.<sup>3</sup>

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1. 26 April, 1652.

2. The descent of "thānadār" to its present humble Hindī and Urdū meaning of commandant of a police post can here be seen in an early stage. Jaswant Singh's thānadārī of Jamrūd when 7000/7000, from 1671 to his death late in 1678 had special features. Athar 'Alī, 148, mentions men of 3000 and 4000 appointed thānadārs; but all were in the Marātha country after Aurangzīb had taken the field there himself in 1699, in his last, futile, and tragic campaign.

3. I have not located this place. It cannot be Sītpūr in the U.P.

He advanced, and came on the 20th to the station of Tabaq. It is a hill, rising sharply from level ground (wa ān kohīst, rif 'at-i-asās, dar zamīn-i-musattah). On both sides, at a distance of one cos, there are ranges, which converge at Panj Mandrak. From its east and west extremities, the circumference [of this hill] is four cos. Upon the highest point, which is solid rock, (sang-i-sakht) there was, in days gone by, (dar sawālīf ayyām)<sup>1</sup> a fort one cos long and forty jarībs wide in some places, thirty in others, and in others even less. There was but one approach road, narrow and difficult, upon which [even] foot-soldiers could turn around only with great difficulty.

At present [the following] remains (aṣṣār) of the fort and its ancient buildings [survive]: on the south side, a stone wall; several old deserted houses; a decayed mosque (yak masjid-i-shikasta); and some cisterns, (ābgīr) [now] in disorder, in which rain-water collects during the wet season. Half-way up the hill (dar kamar-i-koh) is a dry spring, blocked<sup>2</sup> by the passage of time. Altogether, it is a lofty, spacious and strong place (bi'l jumla makān-i-murtafi'-i-wasī'-i-matīn ast).<sup>3</sup>

Hail to the true preceptor! [The tract] between Sang-i-Lakhshān and the borders<sup>4</sup> of [the province of Multan] is comprised in the zamīndarī of Hājī Beluch,<sup>5</sup> and, had it not been for him, (bī-wujūd-i-ū) no proper arrangements would have been made for guarding the road through those parts; and the Bābrī<sup>6</sup> road too, which passes through the middle of the

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1. I.O. omits wa ba'zī jā sī jarīb. N. notes no omission from any of his mss, not even S.

2. For ambāshta, Ch. absurdly has apnāshta, which is meaningless.

3. Ch.'s version of this is: bi'l jumla makānī-i-murtafi' wa manī'-i-zamīn ast.

4. For sarḥadd, I.O. has simply sar.

5. From this it is clear, that the Mughuls continued to administer these tracts after losing Qandahār in 1649. But between 1621 and 1638, they were under Persian control.

6. Bābrī may have been the seat of Mubārak: see Letter 1, supra.

territory of Mubārak Balūch, was impassable (jārī nabūd). Besides, they were not able to collect the body of men which they had themselves undertaken [to provide] for this auspicious campaign, and for which an equivalent sum had been remitted (manqūf shuda) from their fixed tribute<sup>1</sup>. So [this murīd] gave them leave [to depart] from Tabaq, to clear the roads, and bring up provisions for the victorious army. For the payment which had been deferred on condition of their collecting men, a bond (tamassuk) has been taken from Hājī for 250,000 'abbāsīs<sup>2</sup>, and another for 75,000 from Mubārak. They are required, after adjusting the amount (rū ba rāh karda) to pay the balance to the treasury (wāsil sāzand) within a fixed period.

[This murīd] left Tabaq on the 21st.<sup>3</sup> On the 23rd, 7 cos from Qūshinj, he halted.

Hail to the guide, the cherisher of murīds! Daulat, the brother of Sher Khān Tarīn,<sup>4</sup> had previously, after the arrival of this murīd's servant Asad in that district, sent a note in reply to Asad's letter, asserting his submission and obedience. But meanwhile two letters reached him from the ruler of Īrān,<sup>5</sup> full of conciliation and encouragement. Overcome by indecision he was thinking of receding from his profession of loyalty (az ān irāda bar gardad).<sup>6</sup> But, in the end, through the imperishable imperial good fortune, and the

1. The phrase peshkash-i-muqarrarī will be met again, in connection with Qutbu'l Mulk.

2. The 'abbāsī, named after its originator, Shāh 'Abbās I, was a flat thin coin containing approximately 115 grains of steadily more debased silver. It was worth at this time about ten annas of a Mughul rupee.

3. 21 Jumāda I, or Tuesday 30 April, 1652.

4. See Letter 23.

5. Wālī-i-Īrān is the term Aurangzīb uses. To give the Shāh his titles would not accord with Mughul notions of their unassailable superiority. His letter is called a raqam - not a manshūr, and certainly not a farmān.

6. Ch. has bagardad.

admirable efforts of this servant's envoy Asad, most of the zamīndārs and tribesmen (ulūsān),<sup>1</sup> of that district, who till then had failed to submit, (rujū'ī nadāshta) were brought into the ranks of the loyal, and made appropriate arrangements for provisioning the triumphant army. So the heart [of Daulat] was eased; putting no faith<sup>2</sup> in those letters [from Īrān], which would in truth have sealed his doom, (ān nawishtaḥārā, ki fī'l ḥaqīqat sarnawisht-i-idbār-i-ū būd) he disclosed them; the two letters themselves will be before your Majesty's eyes with this. In perfect sincerity and confidence Daulat has brought forward the foot of obedience and submission, and on the date above-mentioned waited upon this murīd.<sup>3</sup>

To show the firmness of his devotion and loyalty, he seized Bahrām, a slave (ghulām) of the ruler of Īrān, and brought him before this murīd. The wretched (nikūhīda atwār)<sup>4</sup> Autar<sup>5</sup> wrote to Daulat, asking for some written reply which Bahrām might take, for Autar to retain with him in the fort<sup>6</sup> [of Qandahār]. This servant sent him to Multān.

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1. This word could hardly be used of any Indian tribal grouping. Its Turkic origin and significance confined it to the prototype of the Ulūs - the semi-nomadic or nomadic tribes.

2. N. destroys the sense by reading i'tibār namūda. He notes the correct reading in S.

3. Aurangzīb was encamped 7 cos east of Qūshinj (Pishin) and the audience was given to Daulat on 2 May, 1652.

4. Ch. has nakūhīza (a slip).

5. In B.M. clearly spelt with zamma over the first alif.

6. Clearly to forward to the Shāh. The strained relations between Autar and Daulat might perhaps have induced the Shāh to think that Daulat's submission to Asad and his master Aurangzīb's blandishments was partly due to Autar's mismanagement.



Your Majesty will have heard, that this Daulat was one of the nobles (khawānīn) and confidants of the ruler of Īrān, and that he had received the [right to carry] kettle drums and to beat drums [at his door]<sup>1</sup>, and that the prosperous and well-populated land between the boundary of Panj Mandrak and Sang-i-Lakhshān, 70 imperial cos in length, and approximately 20 cos wide, had been constituted his salary (tankhwāh-i-ū karda). Even though the wretched Autar had stirred up a violent quarrel<sup>2</sup> with Daulat, Daulat remained favourable to him. Now that he has received, through the [divine] guidance vouchsafed him and the promptings of his conscience, the grace of service under the Court, the refuge of rulers, he has been enriched spiritually as well as temporally.

This murīd takes these events as an omen (shugūn) of victory against Persia, and of a turn in the fortune of its ruler towards the supporters of [our] exalted court. He has comforted [Daulat], urging him to rely upon the imperial kindnesses and caresses which are the inevitable lot of the slaves of the state; and he has restored to Daulat his former territories, and taken him in his train. He hopes, that [Daulat] may be exalted and elevated to the extent justified by his sincerity and devotion, so as to be a cause of the submission of others.

As a garrison in Qūshinj he left Saiyid Baqr Bukhārī, who had been posted to the province of Multān, together with his followers; and [also] fifty horsemen, archers and matchlockmen from among this murīd's own servants; and crossed the pass of Panj Mandrak on the blessed day of Monday, the 27th.<sup>3</sup> He has made a halt today (which is Tuesday the 28th) for the purpose of passing Bhīra. God willing, he will reach Qandahār at the appointed time; as he has written over and over again.

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1. Naqqāra yāfta nanbat mīzada. This was one of the most prized Imperial prerogatives, and was accorded to even the highest nobles only as a singular honour, after long service. A Persian noble who had enjoyed that honour, though he might lose it on entering Mughul service, would need to be treated with the greatest consideration - this is Aurangzib's message.

2. Autar-i-nābakār nizā'-i-tamām ba ū ba ham rasānīda; cf Letter 11, where this fact is first noticed.

3. Monday, 6 May, 1652.

The ascent of this pass is 37 jarīb [long] and the descent, which is very steep, is 40 jarīb. The road is exceedingly narrow. Between Dukī and [a point] two stations from the foot of the pass, the air was cold; on two or three nights on the further side of Qūshinj, it froze (yakh mībast). On this side of the pass, the air was quite warm.<sup>1</sup>

Hail to the qibla of this servant! The town of Qūshinj has more people than Dukī, and its fort, made of mud, was erected (binā nihāda) by Sher Khān. It is more extensive than the fort of Dukī, and stronger. Through the middle of the town flows a canal, a yard and a half wide. There is an unimpressive (mukhtaṣar) bath, and a congregational mosque has been built outside the fort on the edge of a small tank, (talāb) which is filled by the water of the canal. The fort was the seat of government of Sher Khān and of Daulat, and the dependants of Daulat live there still. Outside the fort, close to the mosque, there is a garden, abounding in red roses [and containing] a few peach and apricot trees (darakht-i-mewādār az shuftālū wa dardālū ba qadar dārad).

May the mighty giver of victory (honoured by His glory) throw open the gates of victory and triumph before the supporters of the everlasting state; and may He keep the world-illuminating sun of the Caliphate and of its government radiant in its seat of prosperity and world-conquest!

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1. Hawā ḥarāratī paida karda. Aurangzīb had passed into the garmser, where by May the heat can be intense, even in the hills.

LETTER 25

Aurangzib reached Qandahār on 21 Urdībihisht, two days earlier than had been planned: that is, on Sunday, 12 May 1652. The vizier Sa'du'llāh Khān, at the head of the forces marching down from Kābul through Ghaznī, arrived at the same time. It is clear that the date of the junction of the forces before Qandahār must have been advanced; the day, and the date of arrival, correspond to 21 Urdībihisht, and not 23.

Shujā' has been given an audience by the Emperor, and Aurangzib's congratulations on his long journey seem genuine enough; he passes more quickly over the increase in his manṣab which would have brought him higher pay. The letter announcing these things was brought by Sa'du'llāh Khān in person, to emphasise the significance both of the news and of its recipient.

In this letter Aurangzib acknowledges the Emperor's command to subordinate himself to Sa'du'llāh Khān. This unfortunate order was fatal to any initiative by the men on the spot; for the aging and unmilitary vizier referred everything to the Emperor in Kābul, and a decision, even if favourable, could not arrive within a week; the total distance from Qandahār to Kābul and back was about 560 miles.<sup>1</sup> The Emperor made a cardinal blunder, in purporting to direct the campaign from such a distance.

Aurangzib hopefully renews his request for an independent command to capture Bust and Zamīn Dāwar, and boasts that he could seize Farāḥ. He does not this time allege that he can take Herāt.

The Emperor, and the wazīr have both approved Aurangzib's diplomatic management of Daulat Tarīn, who now makes the final act of submission by offering to send his family to Multān. There they would be lodged honourably within the fort, until Daulat's loyalty was established beyond question.

Letter 26 shows that this letter was written on 6 Jumādā II 1062 / 15 May 1652.

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1. Cf the detailed account of Roberts' famous march in 1880, from Kābul on 8 August to Qandahār on 31st: 280 miles in 23 days, with two halts. Official Account, 558-569, especially 568.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of two royal letters, both received on 21 Urdībihisht<sup>1</sup>/3 Jumādā II/ 12 May 1652 at the moment of arrival before Qandahar. One, delivered by Sa'du'llāh Khān, announces that Shuja' has had audience and that Aurangzib's mansab is increased; the other, delivered by yasāwals, reports the gift of Rs 5,00,000 as a subsidy.

Remarkably lengthy conventional thanks, and eulogy of the Emperor's splendour and munificence,<sup>2</sup> incorporating a verse:

Were every hair on my body a tongue  
I would be unable to thank the king for one of  
the thousand [gifts he has made me]<sup>3</sup>

It obtained the nobility of being written, that the Crown Prince of Mortals had travelled about a thousand cos from Bengal, and had been honoured with an interview; and that on the first of the happy month of Jumādā II,<sup>4</sup> he would be given leave to depart for Qandahār. This behoves a murīd of sincere intention and purity of purpose, who knows that obedience to the commands of his ka'ba and qibla, and the pursuit of his wishes (pīrūī-i-raḡāī) is the treasure-house of his own felicity. [Shujā'] has indeed made that long and tedious journey (rāh-i-dūr wa darāz) admirably, and has brought himself [here] in time for the task. It is certain, that after being given leave to depart [from Your Majesty] on the date mentioned, he will turn towards the destination.

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1. I.O. has bīst o yakum. B.M. has clearly bīst o siyum, but is wrong; 3 Jumādā II is Sunday, 12 May, 1652, and that date is 21 Urdībihisht by the other concordances in these letters. Farwardīn began on 22 March, and Urdībihisht on 22 April. The readings of Ch. and of N. (who notes no variant) may be ignored.

2. Eleven lines in B.M. (fo. 13A); ten lines in I.O. (fo. 14B).

3. Gar bar tan-i-man zabān shawad har mūī, yak shukr-i-sha az hazār natawānam guft. For the poetical form of shah, Ch. substitutes tū.

4. Friday, 10 May, 1652.



This murīd encamped (firod āmad) in the vicinity of the fort of Qandahār at the predetermined time, and, in consultation with the Khān, the pattern of felicity, caused the slaves of the Court, the refuge of rulers, to invest it closely. May the Almighty Conqueror make the rose-bush (gulbun) of [our] desire bloom in the breeze of victory and triumph, and may he soon make the supporters of the state, which is linked with eternity, embrace the bride ("beloved, concubine") of victory and triumph.

It was written by the pearl-scattering pen: "We have given suitable (ānche bāyest) instructions in all matters to the vizier of viziers, the Khān; he will explain them to that murīd, who should obey them.

Hail to the qibla and ka'ba of the two worlds! Since this servant at all times anxiously seeks the grace of performing the will of the sacred heart, and recognises this to be the basis of his spiritual and temporal prosperity, he hopes that he shall, please God, do his duty in accordance with the instructions he receives.

It will be clear to the heart of angelic penetration, which is the seat of sacred illuminations and the destination ("stopping-place") of heavenly communications ("income") that the advance of a body of men against the forts of Bust<sup>1</sup> and Zamīn Dāwar would be in the interests of the state and appropriate at [this] time. The quicker this object is displayed upon the field of exhibition, the fitter and better it will be. Soon the harvest will be gathered in that district, which is warmer than Qandahār (ki nisbat ba Qandahār garmsīr ast); it is likely that the accursed enemy will try to seize it (dast-i-taṣarruf ba ān darāz kunand<sup>2</sup>, "extend the hand of plunder towards it"). On this occasion, as an army so vast and numerous has, through the world-subduing good

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1. B.M. has a large clear zamma over Bust.

2. B.M. kunand; but I.O.'s kunad seems better. N. and Ch. have the singular form.

fortune [of your Majesty] been collected, it would be a pity if it did not advance and, through the gracious help of God, did not make all possible efforts (ḥaif ast ki ... dast burdī ki az ān tawān guft, nanumāyad).<sup>1</sup>

This servant thinks it proper that he should leave a body [of soldiers], nominated by your Majesty, for the siege of the fort; for none of the slaves wishes to remain away from the field of endeavour. He himself, with the other servants, should set forth in that direction; having, with God's mercy, subjugated (ba zabt dar āwurda) that territory, he should thence march upon Farāḥ,<sup>2</sup> not drawing rein until the border of Khurāsān;<sup>3</sup> and he should make the armies, resembling heaven, so waste that land<sup>4</sup> as to awaken and arouse that young and thoughtless [ruler] (an khurd-sāl-i-kota-andesh) from his dreams of heedlessness and folly, and to make him see (mushāhida kunad) the result of his boldness and recklessness with his own eyes (barāye al-a'īn).

It is most likely, that in such a case, the garrison would fail in their resolution and be unable to apply themselves as they ought to their duties of holding the fort.<sup>5</sup> But your Majesty is most experienced in all affairs (tajruba-i-kār); the wisest man of the age, and a most complete and perfect guide; so whatever may scatter its brilliance upon the sacred heart is the essence of right conduct.

A world-obeyed order was issued: "Should Daulat the brother of Sher Khān Tarīn obtain the grace of loyalty and come before that murīd, he should show him appropriate consideration (ū rā ri'āyatī ki bāyad bakunad).

1. Noting guft in his S and B, Nadwī prefers kashf. The mss do not support this change. B.M. clearly has guft; I.O. has nothing, reading tawān nanumāyad.

2. Ch. has Farāt.

3. Aurangzib perhaps has it in mind to ravage the Qā'ināt, the irrigated southernmost corner of Khurāsān; cf Lambton, Landlord and Peasant in Persia, 218-219 (but see 359, and 305).

4. For ān marzubūm, Ch. has ān marz wa būm, breaking one word into three.

5. As things did not turn out thus in 1653, when Dārā's detachments captured the outposts, it is not likely that Aurangzīb would have had any greater success.

Hail to the qibla of mortals! The account of Daulat's coming in was previously written to the sublime court, on Jumādā I,<sup>1</sup> after the crossing of the pass of Panj Mandrak, and will have reached Your Majesty. This murīd restored his maḥals and took him along with him, conciliating him by [assurances of] imperial liberality; he gave him an aigrette (jīgha)<sup>2</sup>, a sword-belt studded with jewels, and a sword with a scabbard adorned with gold (shamsher ba sāz-i-tilla). Now, after taking the opinion (istiṣwāb) of the Khān, the pattern of felicity, he has presented him with a sum of 10,000 rupees out of the Imperial treasury (khazāna-i-āmira) as a gift. Daulat has proposed, as a token of his sincerity, that he send his dependants (mut'alliqān) from Qūshinj to Multān. There is no doubt, (yaqīn ki) that he will be included, in proportion (dar khwūr-i) to his devotion and his service, among the [recipients of] the infinite Imperial kindnesses.

[The letter lacks a formal ending]

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1. I.O. reads 26 Jumādā I, which makes Sunday, 5 May, 1652. In Letter 24, however, Aurangzīb says that he interviewed Daulat on 28 Jumādā I / 7 May 1652. Nadwī's correction to 28 agrees with B.M., and should be followed; he notes 26th in his B, but not, apparently, in S. Chaudhuri has 8 Jumādā I / 17 April, which is nonsense.

2. Jīgha, "an ornament or jewel worn in the turban": Steingass, 382. Perhaps related to jīqa, noise, clamour; ibid, 383, and secondary meanings of jīgha. This is neither sarpech nor kalgī, but a simple spray-like ornament. Aurangzīb might have given his own.

NOTE ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF QANDAHĀR

The old city of Qandahār was built up against a ridge running south-west to north-east and attaining, behind the south-western corner of the walls, a height of 4400 feet. The ridge was called Qaitūl; the north-eastern tip, upon which still stand two battered lions which guard the entrance to an artificially-improved cave, was called Lakah. The cave, which contains an inscription of Bābur, is approached by forty steep steps; and the feature is called the Chihil Zīna, "Forty Steps". Below the ridge the city, now a crumbled mass of rubble, sinks in stages to the plain, where a stream of many branches, nearly dry except in the spates of spring, runs down to the Arghandāb river some two miles off, and separates the old city from the rectangular new city, laid out by Nādir Shāh and named after himself in 1738, after he had captured and destroyed old Qandahār. This city was dominated by the high Koṭal-i-Bābā Wālī, between it and the Arghandāb; but the artillery of the seventeenth century was not such as to give any importance to this ridge in the successive Mughul sieges of Qandahār.

The remnants of the curtain walls along the crest of the Qaitūl ridge, behind the old city, still stand, as do similar walls at Kābul; they apparently terminated in an outwork with a gate called 'Alī Qāpī, "the lofty gate".<sup>1</sup> This is what the Mughuls had to carry, if an attack on the "hill of Lakah" were to succeed. Below it began the city walls. The Bābā Wālī Gate facing north-north east towards the high ridge of that name, was attacked by Mahābat Khān's batteries. The long eastern flank of the city appears to have had three gates, the Wais Taran, the Khwāja Khizr (presumably giving direct onto the moat) and the Māshūrī. It was here that the Mughuls had their best hope of breaking down the walls by bombardment. Before it stood the wazīr Sa'du'llāh Khān, and Qāsiur Khān the Mīr-i-Ātish (Chief of Artillery). At the turn of the wall, along its short run back to the ridge, stood Rustam Khān Fīrūz Jang. The whole of the enceinte was protected by a moat, which though dry in some places was sufficiently full of water siphoned up from

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1. A similar Turkish title was the origin of the "Sublime Porte", so long a prominent feature of European diplomacy.



the Arghandāb to offer a serious obstacle. As for the walls themselves, they were of packed mud and straw, many feet thick, and proof against much more powerful guns than the primitive Mughul cannon, which could be fired only eight or ten times a day: "... it was known by experience that heavy mud walls have a resisting power equal, if not superior, to that of solid masonry, as was proved by experiments made in 1879 with a 6.4 inch howitzer upon the walls of old Kandahar (sic!!); and the actual results obtained with the 40 [pounders] and 9 [pounders] during the siege upon the villages of Deh Khoti and Deh Khoja confirmed this fact." (Official Account, 531).

In a word, insufficient and inefficient artillery was the principal reason for the Mughuls' triple failure to recapture Qandahār. When the artillery failed, the Emperor did not agree to the suggestion of the men on the spot that it be concentrated upon one place; so the walls remained unbreached, surprise assaults failed, and Qandahār remained in Persian hands.

LETTER 26

Aurangzīb wrote this letter on 19 Jumada I 1062 / Tuesday 28 May, 1652. Quickly recognising that the imperialists had insufficient artillery to make an impression on the walls of Qandahār, he has renewed his request to be allowed an independent command, and is disappointed at the blunt refusal. But the siege has been under way for a fortnight now, and Aurangzīb has made the best of his situation; he describes the original dispositions of the Mughul forces, and the re-grouping that he and Sa'du'llāh Khān have effected, and he suggests a weak place in the defences of the city, which might be breached by a determined assault.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God.

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a farmān brought by Aurangzīb's own couriers (qāṣidān) on 2 Khurdād / 24 May 1652, in response to his letter from the vicinity of Chutiālī (sc., Letter 23, dated 15 Jumādā I / 25 April.)

Brief thanks.

Before now, on the 6th of Jumādā II<sup>1</sup> (after arriving at Qandahār and commencing the siege) a humble petition was sent, through the yasāwals of the sublime court, in response to the two royal missives glittering with light, seeking the issue of a sacred order for this murīd's advancing towards Zamīn Dāwar, Bust, Farāḥ, and Herāt.<sup>2</sup> He has been waiting until today (which is the 19th of Jumādā II (or the 8th of Khurdād)<sup>3</sup> for the world-obeyed order. [And now], although there are many reasons why it seems better to set out thither, the experienced vizier of well-directed counsel has conveyed this sacred order: "So long as the siege of the

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1. 15 May, 1652.

2. The addition of Herāt is a flourish. Aurangzīb did not in fact mention it in his letter.

3. Tuesday, 28 May 1652. The reading hashtum of the mss and Ch., and nuhum of N., should be corrected to shashum.

fort is not conducted as it should be (*tā khātir az muhāsira-i-qila' jam' nashawad*) he should not advance in that direction; if he wishes, that *murīd* may advance a few cos beyond Qandahār, and encamp there". Since this advance would not be much use, (*chunān fā'ida nadāst*) he had no alternative (*na-guzīr*)<sup>1</sup> but to turn, with the agreement of the incomparable vizier, to the siege.

Hail to the *qibla* and *ka'ba* of the two worlds! A full account of the disposition of the two batteries, and the labours and exertions of the nobles, along with other particulars, will have reached your Majesty<sup>2</sup> from the news-writer of the victorious army; however, this *murīd* also submits a summary (*mujmalī ma'rūz mīdārad*).

At the beginning of the operations, (*dar āghaz-i-kār*) the *Khān*, the pattern of felicity, had chosen the battery (*morchāl*) before the *Khizrī* gate, of which he had been in charge (*qiyām*) last time (*sabiqan*). Rāja Jai Singh and the *Mīr-i-Ātish*, Qāsim *Khān*,<sup>3</sup> who were encamped close by, wished to lead the army forward. Rustam *Khān* Bahādur, Fīrūz Jang, had established his battery at the *Mashūrī* gate; Mahābat *Khān*

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1. The mss, as might be expected, do not distinguish between *na-gurez* and *nā-guzīr*. Ch. and N. have *na-guzīr*, which I follow.

2. N. omits *arfa'*: the phrase is here '*arz-i-arfa'* 'alī.

3. Muḥammad Qāsim was the son of Hāshim *Khān*, who was governor of Kashmīr under Jahāngīr. On Shāh Jahān's accession, he was promoted, and by the 17th year (1643-4) he was 1000/500, *Darogha* of the *Topkhana*, and *kotwāl* of the royal camp. (M.U.III, 95). He marched to Balkh under Rustam *Khān* Fīrūz Jang, and was entitled Mu'atamid *Khān* as a reward for his valour. In 1648 he was promoted 2000/1000; and made *Akhta* Beg; in 1649 he was raised to 3000 *zāt* and given the title of Qāsim *Khān*, after his famous grandfather Qāsim *Khān* Mīr-i-Baḥr wa Barr (d. 1595-6) the architect of Āgra fort. He went with the artillery under Aurangzīb to Qandahār in 1649; again in 1652 (not mentioned in M.U.); was promoted in Shah Jahan's 28th year to 4000/2500.

He was chosen by Dārā to displace Murād Bakhsh as *Sūbahdār* of Gujarāt in 1658; with Jaswant faced Aurangzīb at Dharmat, and like him fled; at Samugarh his conduct was equivocal, and after Dārā was broken, and fled, he waited on Aurangzīb. He was rewarded with Rustam *Khān*'s fertile but turbulent *jāgīrs* in Sambhal and Murādābād; sent to bottle up Sulaimān Shikoh in the Śrīnagar (Garhwāl) hills; and in 1071/1660-61 (M.U. II, 99) while on his way to take charge of the Mathurā district, he was stabbed to death by one of his brothers, in a fit of insanity.



and the men sent from Kābul,<sup>1</sup> and Rāj Rūp,<sup>2</sup> had taken the gate of Shaikh Wālī and the Chihil Zīna hill as their [respective] responsibilities.

But then this murīd made a close inspection of the fort (ba nazr-i-iḥtiyāt mulāḥiza namūda, "having displayed contemplation with the glance of circumspection") and observed that until the water of the moat was drained, it would be useless for the army to advance towards the fort and impossible to lay a mine. Those loyal to the Court, the refuge of rulers, were consulted; after much discussion (radd wa badal-i-bisyār) it was agreed, that Qāsim Khān, an enterprising servant, fully devoted to the interests of the [imperial] service, painstaking and laborious, should attend to the draining of the water of the moat. As it was clear, that were this attempted the assaults [of the enemy] against the battery [closest to] the water would be strongly pressed, there is [therefore] no reason for the battery of the Khān, seated in felicity, to be inactive. That well-informed vizier should set up his battery at the foot of the Qaitūl hill. The

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1. B.M. omits the phrase ba bandahāī-i-ta'īnāt-i-Kābul.

2. Rāj Rūp was the son of Rāja Jagat Singh, and grandson of Rāja Bāsū.<sup>1</sup> He is first noticed in the Ma'aṣiru'l Umarā in Shah Jahan's twelfth year (1638-39) as faujdār of the Kāngra hills, near his home country. After his father's death on the Balkh campaign, he was raised to 1500/1000 and given the title of Rāja. Fighting in that ill-fated campaign, he was promoted 2000/1500, and given money gifts; in the twentieth year he was again promoted, to 2000/2000, and sustained three wounds in an attack of "Almāns" (Ūzbek mounted guerillas). In the 22nd year, after the Mughul withdrawal, he was raised to 2500/2500 and made qila'dār of the frontier fort of Kahmard, at the foot of the northern slopes of the Hindū Kush. Promoted again to 3000/2500, he was sent to Qandahār with Aurangzīb. Like Pahār Singh, he was then placed under Sulaimān Shikoh at Kābul, and took part in the third siege of Qandahār under Dārā. In the 29th year he was ordered back from Kahmard to Court, and sent to his home, after over ten years' absence. It is possible that he was in disgrace, for Shāh Nawāz Khān writes that when Dārā fled defeated from Āgra through Delhi towards Lahore, Rāj Rūp "obeyed the summons issued before the war broke out, and was liberated from [confinement in] his own territory" (az waṭan rahī gardīda) (M.U. II, 279). He remained with Dārā until his flight to Multān; returned to his waṭan; then joined Khalīlu'llāh Khān on the banks of the Beas, and was presented to Aurangzīb.

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1. Sarkār in Aurangzīb, I, 136 makes "Bhao Singh" the father of Rāj Rūp, and suggests that he was present at Qandahār in 1649.



commander of the Iranian army had brought his forces<sup>1</sup> up by there; the moat is narrow, and dry; and the fort has but a single wall (dīwār ... yake besh nīst)<sup>2</sup>. Rustam Khān Bahādur, Fīrūz Jang, who had much wished to occupy that position (ẓila') and is eager for the fray, should be stationed between Sa'du'llāh Khān's force<sup>3</sup> and Qāsim Khān's<sup>4</sup> battery. Mahābat Khān<sup>5</sup> and Rāj Rūp should fight in their former position, facing the Chihil Zīna hill.

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(footnote 2 from previous page)

Promoted to 3500/3500, he was placed on the borders of Śrīnagar (Garhwāl) to bottle up the fugitive Sulaimān Shikoh; (M.A.26 (text) then he was called to fight Dārā at Deorai, where his storming of the Gokla hill turned Dārā's south-eastern flank, and won the battle for Aurangzīb (24 March, 1659).

As with every officer who had not been with him from the very beginning of his bid for the crown, Aurangzīb had little further use for Rāj Rūp, who ended his life in 1071/1660-61 guarding the Mughul frontier south of Ghaznī, facing Qandahār.

It is said (M.U. II, 280) that his brother Bhār Singh (or Pahār Singh) who had also fought in Balkh, accepted Islām in Aurangzīb's third year, and as Murīd Khān served as chaukidār of Ghorband. Was his conversion voluntary?

1. Reading sipah for sība (cf. Steingass, 714, s.v.) which is Ch.'s reading.

2. N. has pesh.

3. Ch. again has sība.

4. Ch. omits Khān.

5. Aurangzīb now recognises Luhrāsp Khān's new title.

As it was inappropriate to leave the sector opposite the Khizrī Gate unoccupied (khālī), Rāja Jai Singh was stationed in his old place;<sup>1</sup> the battery of the Khān, the pattern of felicity, was entrusted to Najābat Khān,<sup>2</sup> with the vanguard of the armies; and the responsibility for Qāsim Khān's battery was assigned (wā guzasht) to Naṣīrī Khān,<sup>3</sup> with a company of cavalry and infantry.

The Khān, the pattern of felicity, is making the utmost efforts in bringing up the army and constructing emplacements (damdama) for the guns. Mahābat Khān and Rāj Rūp have been trying, with great labour and toil (ta'b wa mashaqqat-i-bisyār kashīda) to take the [detached] bastions on the Chihil Zīna hill outside the fort. They have brought up to their battery two great Sūrat guns, and have been firing frequently (top bisyār andākhta). They have demolished the fort of the bastion at the foot [of the hill] (peshtar-i-burj-i pāyin-rā munhadim sākhta) and say that within four or five days they will take it. As well as (siwāy) this bastion, there are two others on this same hill, whose capture (istikhlās) will demand great exertion.

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1. Ba jā-i sabiq. N. has jānib for jā.

2. For a note on this noble, of the same blood as the Imperial family, see Letter 102.

3. I.O. has Nuṣrat Khān. Naṣīrī Khān was the son of Shāh Jahān's Khān-i-Daurān, who ended his martial career as Ṣūbahdār of the Deccan. He succeeded Aurangzīb when his first viceroyalty ended, in June, 1644, but was murdered early in July 1645. Naṣīrī Khān was later sent to the Deccan, served in the Bījāpūr campaign in 1657, and received a number of letters from Aurangzīb which are in this collection. His career after Aurangzīb's accession is obscure; he may have been in disfavour, for he is mentioned in the Ma'āṣir-i-Ālamgīrī merely as dying while Ṣūbahdār of Orissa in 1667 (text, 62). Orissa was a "penal province", its government less regarded than many lesser posts. His father's title of Khān-i-Daurān had been accorded him at the beginning of Aurangzīb's reign.

This murīd took counsel of the Khān, the pattern of felicity, and left the place where he had been encamped (da'ira karda bud) at the Khān's suggestion; he has set up his tent near an unoccupied observation-post, (barābar-i-nazrgāh) at the back of the Lakah hill.

Shāh Nawāz Khān, Qulīch Khān, Rao Sattar Sāl and Rāja Pahār Singh<sup>1</sup> have been ordered to encamp all about the hill, so that the siege may be fully effective (az qār wāqi' shawad) and the garrison's way in and out, which is usually past that hill, be blocked. [This murīd also] ordered a corps of archers and matchlock-men from among his own troops, under (ba) Malik Ḥusain, to the ridge (pushta) on the Lakah hill. Compared with other roads leading to the fort, the road it commands (rāhash) is a good deal wider, and the men's opinion is, that they will be able to mount an attack in that direction. Great efforts are being made to bring the army as far forward as possible and to make strenuous efforts. By this day they have brought the army to the fort<sup>2</sup> of the hill, and are making great exertions. God willing, in pressing forward the attack as far as they can in the direction of Kūcha-i-Salāmat; thereafter, they will make no errors willingly (ba taqṣīr az khwud rāzī nakhwahad gasht).

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1. Rāja Pahār Singh was a Bundela Rājput, the son of Bīr Singh De'o, and already 2000/1200 on Shāh Jahān's accession, who was soon promoted to 3000/2000. He took part in the first expedition against Jhujar Singh, and was rewarded with some of his land; (M.U. II, 256) in 1629-30, he marched to the Deccan with Shāyista Khān, and received the title of Rāja. He remained in the Deccan, serving under Khān-i Zamān, and then under Aurangzīb in his first viceroyalty. In the 11th year (1637-8) he was called to Court, and promoted 3000/2000 (1000 2h 3h).

He accompanied 'Alī Mardān Khān with the first Imperial forces to Balkh in 1646; remained in the theatre of war when Murād Bakhsh fled; and finally returned with Aurangzīb, having "given every satisfaction in his strenuous skirmishing with the Ūzbeks and Almāns" (M.U. II 258). In 1650-51 he was promoted 4000/3000 2h 3h, and in 1652 was sent to Qandahār under Aurangzīb. In 1653, he went again with Dārā, and on return was given leave to go to his waṭan, where in 1064/1653-4 "the cup of his life was filled to the brim" (ibid, 259).

2. For pāi I.O. has jāi.



[This murīd] hopes, that Almighty God will associate the whole laborious body of slaves with the grace [gained by] our great exertions - even by sacrificing their lives - make them successful and elevated [before] the most sacred throne, and splendidly exhibit the desire of the holy heart upon the platform of display.

Hail to the saintly protector! No detailed news worthy of reliance has come from the [lines of] the contemptible enemy up to the present; however it is apparent from the statements of all those captured by the outriders (qarāwalān) of the conquering army, and from others that further reinforcements (kumakī) will perhaps reach the besieged within a month. Any further intelligible reports that may come to hand shall be communicated by letter.

On the date above-written,<sup>1</sup> Sa'ādat Khān<sup>2</sup> reached Qandahār with the cannon [called] Victory of the Army, (Fath-i-Lashkar) and it will be in the hands of (dākhil) the forces within a day or two. This murīd sent Mubārak Khān and Kākar Khān out to meet the cannon, and they took it under their charge, and brought it in.

May the world-illuminating sun of the Caliphate and of its government remain splendid and shining upon the horizon of world-conquest and cline-subjugation!

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1. The date of writing, 19 Jumada II 1062 / 28 May, 1652.

2. Sa'ādat Khān was a veteran of Jahāngīr's time, the son of Zafar Khān and the grandson of Zain Khān Koka of Akbar. On his father's death early in 1622 Jahāngīr promoted him 800/400 (Tuzuk, R. & B. II, 229); by the end of that reign, he was 1500/700 (M.U. II, 461). Promotion under Shāh Jahān was steady: 1500/1000 in the fifth year, 1500/1200 in the ninth, 1500/1500 in the tenth, and 2000/1500 in the twelfth. He marched to Balkh with Murād Bakhsh in 1645, and was appointed qila'dār of Termez on the northern bank of the Oxus. In the next year he was promoted 2500/2000 and given a drum; he beat off an attack by Subhān Qulī Khān of Bukhārā (*ibid*, 461-2) and was rewarded with 3000/2500. After the withdrawal from Balkh, he served two years as commandant of Ghaznī. Under Aurangzīb at Qandahār in 1649, he failed to capture a detached fort; but in 1651 he was promoted 3000/3000, "and asserted superiority over his peers" (*ibid*, 462). After serving with Aurangzīb at Qandahār in 1652, he was placed under Dārā's son Sulaimān Shikoh when that young prince was made governor of Kābul; then he served at Qandahār under Dārā. In 1656 he replaced Mubārak Khān Niāzī (who is thrice mentioned in these letters) as faujdār of the Bangash territory - har du Bangash, upper and lower. In 1657-8 he was made qila'dār of Kābul, and in 1659-60 he was stabbed to death by his own son, Sheru'llāh. He had served nearly forty years, all that long time remaining on the north-western frontier.



## LETTER 27

This letter is 28th in order in the manuscripts. Nadwī has correctly reversed its position, since it was written a week before the long letter now numbered 28.<sup>1</sup>

It is one of the most remarkable letters in the collection. The great explosion which it describes did not shake the resolution of the besieged, or weaken their walls; but as Aurangzīb's capable pen describes it, we almost imagine that the garrison of Qandahār, cowed by the disaster, is ready to contemplate surrender. Not so, however; Aurangzīb continues his efforts to breach the walls, and hopes for good results from the marauding expeditions of Daulat Tarīn, now entitled Khān.

Unconsciously, Aurangzīb reveals in this letter the utter incompetence and inanity of Mughul siege-craft. Steeled by experience against the Ottoman Turks, the Persians as marksmen and as artillerymen entirely outclassed the Mughuls; yet fifty years later Aurangzīb, blind to the lessons of experience, was using the same methods and the same artillery in his endless, and ultimately futile, Deccan wars. With all their strength and all their wealth the Mughuls could neither breach the walls of Qandahār, nor take advantage of the garrison's misfortunes; nor (as we shall see) maintain basic discipline in their own army.

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1. Chaudhurī observes its correct date but does not depart from the order of his ms.

To the Emperor, the Shadow of God!  
Brief conventional salutations.

Through the intervention of the imperishable imperial good fortune, an extraordinary event occurred three hours (yak pās) after daybreak on Wednesday, the 27th of the fortunate month of Jumāda II (5 June, 1652), inside the fort (of Qandahār).

It happened thus (tafsīlash ān ast). Apparently the worthless Autar had sent Muḥammad Hāshim the wazīr,<sup>1</sup> and Shaikh 'Alī his mustaufī (auditor) to open up the powder-magazine in the fort at the foot of the hill, and bring away

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1. Sc., the principal administrative officer of Qandahār.

[the contents]. With them he sent Āqā 'Alī, collector of the produce of forty-one [villages];<sup>1</sup> Maḥmūd Beg, a notable (arbāb) of Qandahār, and Mīr-i-Bāzār; Pīr 'Alī Beg the jībahdār-bāshī (chief armourer); and a great many others. When the gunpowder was brought out they were to distribute some of it among the artillery-men and musketeers.<sup>2</sup>

Hardly had they put their hands to the work, when a spark fell into the saltpetre stored in bags in a corner of the powder-magazine, from a pipe which some fellow chanced to be smoking (qaṣārā ātish-i-tambākū az dast-i-shakhsī ki ... tambākū mīkashīd) nearby. Before anyone knew what had happened (tā āgah shudan-i-mardum) fire blazed up (ātish buland shud); at once a crowd of the garrison rushed to put it out (krohī az mutḥashinān ba qaṣd-i-firo nishāndan-i-ātish hujūm āwurda) but all their efforts were in vain. The fire reached the gunpowder; a frightful explosion burst out; (ṣadāi-i-haulnāk barkhāst) all the houses of the town shook; and the magazine, with the adjacent buildings, was blown to dust.

From the magazine to the Māshūr gate, a considerable distance,<sup>3</sup> many of the houses along the business street collapsed, and many were split open. Fragments of lead and stone from the foundation of the magazine, blown into the air, fell upon man and beast; (asp wa ādam) many were injured; and about a hundred and fifty soldiers, water-carriers and such-like were consumed in the flames, and disappeared in the wind of annihilation (ba bād-i-fanā raft). None of the well-known men in the fort who had gone to the spot escaped, except Muḥammad Hāshim the vizier. Pīr 'Alī Beg the mushrif (accountant) is dying; (bar halāk ast) others, extensively burned (nīm sokhta) lie upon the bed of sickness in the agonies of death.

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1. Zābiṭa-i-ḥāsil-i-chihil o yak. Cf. the Ottoman "zaptieh" (an armed soldier, often mounted, who collected taxes, especially from the Christian millets).

2. Pāra az ān ba top-andāzān wa tufangchīyān qismat kunand. Cf. para para, "in frustra, frustratim", Vullers, q.v.

3. Roughly half a mile.

It is indeed through the risen power and the sun-like good fortune of Your Majesty, that such events as these remarkable occurrences are far from being uncommon (ba'īd nīst).

Hail to the preceptor and guide of the two worlds! Every day, as ordered, ten balls are fired from [each of] the big guns. Most of them hit the bastions with some effect; [sometimes] they put the guns of the fort out of action; but the contemptible garrison all work at night to repair whatever is destroyed by day; and [therefore] they [can] go on firing [at us]. Had more guns been aimed at this side [of the fort] two or three bastions would probably have been so ruined by now (shayad tā hāl ... nau'ī inhidām mīyāft) that the God-forsaken garrison would have had no chance of making repairs and firing their guns.

This sincere-natured [murīd] is making every effort to advance the work, as far as in him lies (ba qadr-i-maḡdūr); and is labouring in the interests of the state to the full extent of his defective capacities.

A report upon the outposts<sup>1</sup> on the Chihil Zīna hill, and on the other outposts, has been sent to the sublime court in the answer of the Khān, the pattern of felicity, to the obedience-compelling commands. It will reach your Majesty separately.

Hail to the qibla and ka'ba of this murīd! Written down in earlier reports was the relation of Daulat Khān Tarīn's men, as previously understood. But now they have revealed, that Daulat Khān had [also] carried off a great body of cattle (mawāshi-i-bisyār) from a place known as Balghīr<sup>2</sup>, which is close to Marūchāq. They had been collected in those parts over the last three or four years, and [Daulat Khān] has

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1. In I.O. the word appears to be maljā: "asylum, place of refuge, retreat" (Steingass, 1307, s.v.) In B.M. it is malchār, which is repeated in a large hand in the margin. N. reads morchāl, without comment. Ch. notes malchār in his ms., and amends to mor chāl (sic). The mss repeat the plural: malhārḥā in I.O. (sic) and maljāḥā in B.M.

2. Ch.'s ms reads Mālsar; he has amended to Balghīr. The ya'-i ḥuttī is clear in the mss. Mārūchāq is on the border of a small salient jutting westwards into Russian-held territory, the Panjdeh seized in 1885. It faces the terminus of a branch line of the railway running from Marv south towards Herāt, and stands about thirteen miles off the road from therat through Qila'-i-Nau, Bālā Murghāb, and Maimana. Identification of Balghīr with Bālā Murghāb is tempting, but unwise.

stirred an uproar (ghirev andākhta) as far as the borders of Khurāsān. As the news has been very widely published, (chūn khabr shuhurtī-i-tamām dārad) it is sure to have reached your Majesty through other sources.

[This letter wants a formal ending]



LETTER 28

This very long letter was written on Tuesday, 11 Rajab 1062 / 18 June 1652. Aurangzīb is anxious to allay any suspicions of disloyalty, and offers a lengthy explanation of his intrigues with one Khudādād, a connection of the noble who reported him to the Emperor, and one of the besieged. It is of great value in illustrating Mughul methods; there seems no ground for thinking Aurangzīb had any disloyal notions. At the end of the letter, he reverts to the subject of intelligence; an enemy mail-bag has luckily fallen into his hands, and Shujā'at Khān's scouts and his own spies have brought in further information.

The marrow of the letter is Aurangzīb's detailed survey of the four possible weak spots in the defence of Qandahār, and his proposals to take advantage of them. The artillery is insufficient for a concerted bombardment; so Aurangzīb and Sa'du'llāh Khān propose a feint against the main force of the fort, while all available guns bombard the short south-western wall. How Aurangzīb was to have the guns moved without alerting the enemy to his intentions, he does not say. The plan might have succeeded; but the cost to the Mughul forces of the feint against the walls would have been high, as later events were to show.

Aurangzīb's optimism seems almost excessively excited by the fortuitous blowing-up of Mīr 'Ālam. This was the only real execution done by the Mughul guns, and had no effect at all upon the morale of the garrison.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God.

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of two letters:

a manshūr delivered by Sāqī Beg, yasāwal, on Thursday 6 Rajab 1062 / 13 June, 1652

a farmān delivered by Jaushan Beg,<sup>1</sup> mace-bearer (gurzburdār)<sup>2</sup> on Sunday 9 Rajab / 16 June.

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1. Both Nadwī and Chaudhurī have Khūsh Beg, but there is no ms authority.

2. Mace-bearers were used to carry orders requiring instant obedience, or indicating displeasure; and also to escort people to Court, especially those under a cloud. Jaushan Beg no doubt brought the letter censuring Aurangzīb's alleged failure to write more than once.

Stylised thanks, particularly for the farmān.

The farmān came just as this murīd had mounted to inspect his entrenchments towards the Māshūrī gate, and the positions which he had in mind for launching attacks and erecting new batteries.

The divinely inspired pen had written to say, that during the whole month that that murid has been before the fort of Qandahār, he has sent<sup>1</sup> [only] one letter; it was therefore proper, that he should write every week, setting down the facts in detail.

Hail to the qibla of the two worlds! Between the date on which this murīd arrived at Qandahār and devoted himself to the siege, and the day of the issue of [this] order, three letters were sent,<sup>2</sup> relating events in every particular. Henceforth he will (God Almighty willing) commit to writing, circumstantially and without omission the happenings of each week; conformably to [Your Majesty's] order.

Your Majesty says, that a report from Wafādār Khān has reached you, that this murīd had sent an Afghān [as envoy] to the worthless<sup>3</sup> Autar, but that it was not [yet] known what message this murid had sent, or what reply Autar had returned.<sup>4</sup>

1. For firistāda I.O. has rasīda.

2. All three survive; Letters 25, 26 and 27, sent respectively on 15 May, 28 May, and 5 June. It is curious that they were not laid before the Emperor; they need have been no longer than a week on the road to Kābul. After this protest of Aurangzib's, we do not read any more complaints that he has not written, until Deccan affairs claim him.

3. I.O. omits the insulting adjective.

4. Well might Shāh Jahān enquire. Though Aurangzīb clears himself from overt disloyalty, the danger of intrigue in such situations was very real. Aurangzīb himself, before Golconda in 1687, did not hesitate; without giving him a chance to explain his conduct, he hustled his eldest surviving son Mu'azzam into confinement on suspicion of dealing with the enemy, and kept him there eight years. (M.A., 293-95; cf 372-373 (text)).

Hail to the true preceptor and guide! So far, this murīd has made no overtures of his own to the commandant of Qandahār; and has not sent anybody to him. The Khān, the pattern of felicity, gave audience to this murīd on the day he reached Qandahār; and [this murīd] wrote a note (chizi... nawishta) [to the commandant], in obedience to the exalted command [communicated to him by the Khān]. He sent it by one [of his own] men; but no trace of an answer has yet appeared.<sup>1</sup> The facts referred to by Wafādār Khān in his report are as follows:

Miyān Abdālī, who is enrolled in the ranks of the slaves of the Court, the refuge of creation, had disclosed<sup>2</sup> in Multan that he was related to Khudādād Abdālī, a great confidant (madār 'alaihī) of Autar in the administration of Qandahār. It was to him that the post of Wafādār Khān was given (sc., when he joined the Mughuls) and he has the reputation (gumār ... dārad) of being well-affected to our court. Were the command to issue, a man [might be] sent to him, to discover the present temper of the garrison (hāl-i-qila'dār). [Khudādād] had [previously] sent one of his men from Multān to Qandahār, at this murīd's suggestion; he returned without delay, bringing an oral message (paigham-i-zabānī āwurda) that when the victorious armies reached this vicinity he would do whatever he could to help (ānche bāyad ba miyān khwāhad āmad).

After the [army's] arrival at Qandahār, Miyān Abdālī, (mumīalaihi) at the suggestion (ba ishāra) of this servant, sent an Afghān named Shera inside the fort to Khudādād, to enquire into (istifsār) the intentions of the garrison. [Khudādād] answered, that whenever an even occurred, which might be an occasion of loss of heart ('ajz wa zabūnī) among the garrison, he would endeavour to manage affairs in a manner worthy of his loyalty.

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1. This would have been a formal letter sent by Aurangzīb as highest in rank among the besiegers, summoning the garrison to surrender. To send such a note was part of the etiquette of "qila 'gīrī".

2. I.O. omits zāhir; the phrase is zāhir sākhta būd.

At the same time, [Khudādād] despatched [another] Afghān from the fort to Ḥasan Abdālī. [Ḥasan] is the son of Kāmran, who is Wafādār Khān's paternal uncle. [Ḥasan] is also Wafādār Khān's cousin on his mother's side (birādar-i-mādarī).

[The Afghān] saw this murīd, and gave a very similar message [to that which Shera had brought].

Since this devoted murīd did not consider these negotiations (guft-o-gū-hā) worthy of being reported to the royal ear, he did not mention them.

The news of the explosion in the powder-magazine (sokhtan-i-bārūt-khāna) of the fort, which was reported earlier,<sup>1</sup> had been learned in detail through the account of this envoy of Khudādād's.

When the state of the people in the fort becomes critical, Autar will (God willing) be guided onto the road of felicity by the principles of fear and hope. Then, when through divine intervention he waits upon this murīd, matters will be managed exactly as laid down in the orders [already given] for the treatment of him and his companions.

It obtained the honour of being written, that this murīd's entrenchments were advancing satisfactorily; and that [your Majesty] hopes, that the Imperial troops will succeed in occupying the fortress on the hill (faṭḥ-i-koh naṣīb ... gardad) [by attacking] from that direction. Let that murīd, therefore, and all the troops make the utmost efforts, to keep the entrenchments moving forward steadily.

Hail to the qibla and ka'ba of this murīd! It is the royal pleasure, that the fort of Qandahār should come rapidly into the possession of the supporters of the state, which is fit and proper in every way. [This murīd] firmly believes (ṣarīḥ ma'rūz mīdārad) that if more of the entrenchments had reached closer to the moat, and if all the men stationed at the batteries behind the mountain had worked at a similar pace the work would have progressed more quickly. The utmost (ba qadr-i-wasi') labour and effort is being brought to bear; but it appears to the feeble understanding of this murīd that drawing off the water of the moat, digging a mine, and all the other conventional methods (tadbīrhāī) of capturing forts will demand much time.



A way of taking this fort has occurred to this murīd's defective mind, and he has often spoken of it to the other well-wishers of the state; it is this. [While] there should be no intermission (*dast bāz nadāshta*) in [attempting to] drain the moat, set off mines, and so on, it would appear (*ba nazr dar āmda*) that an attack ought to be made at four positions, which are not well guarded. The first is the tomb (*asitāna*) of Majnūn Qattāl, which is on the lower slopes of the hill; from it, horses can get right up to the wall of the fort, which at this point is unprotected by a moat, and seems to be comparatively narrow and low.

The second is the fort of the "Forty Steps Hill" (*Chihil Zīna*) to the right of Mahābat Khān's battery, and opposite the position just mentioned. The wall there is [also] low and narrow, and in one [place] near the old city; indeed, almost right beside it (*wa yakī pesh wa muttaşil-i-shahr-i-qadīm*)<sup>1</sup>.

The third is [a position] over against the 'Alī Qāpī gate, [giving] a broad approach to the gate and commanding the citadel [on top of the] Qaitūl [hill], which dominates [the area]. There, too, the wall is very narrow.

The fourth is the slope of the Lakah hill, where are the entrenchments of this murīd's men, of Shāh Nawāz Khān, and of Rāja Pahār Singh.<sup>2</sup> There are several routes by which infantry might ascend [this] hill, and the walls of the fort [on its summit] are not very thick. The sarkob<sup>3</sup> of the

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1. Of this "old city", which must have lain at the foot of the Chihil Zīna, nothing seems to survive.

2. This must refer to the highest point of the ridge of Qaitūl, behind the city. That ridge reaches its highest point behind the south-west corner of the city walls.

3. Sarkob (*Steingass*, 676, s.v.) signifies not only a machine for breaking down walls, but wooden platforms and other upper works on walls, whence things might be dropped on the heads of besiegers, or thrown at them, if they were to succeed in swarming up to the walls. The word bears this meaning in India; in connection with Humāyūn's capture of Chunār, with Sher Shah's siege of Kalinjar (fatal to himself) and with Akbar's assault on Chītor, for example, it is mentioned in that context. Speaking more literally, Mullā 'Abdu'l Qādir Badā'ūnī, when first presented to Akbar, was introduced as one who could "be the sarkob of Shaikh Ibrāhīm Sirhindī".

fortress of the city [itself], and of the citadel, are in decay.<sup>1</sup>

It is clear, that unless the walls be breached and a passage opened an attack would be far from successful, and would, [in fact] be quite useless. There are not enough big guns to breach the walls on all four sides simultaneously. It has [therefore] been decided, upon the advice of the Khān, the pattern of felicity, and all the eminent nobles, (jami'-i-umdahā) to bring up eight big guns towards the tomb of Majnūn Qattāl, and aim them at the wall opposite. The position is immediately adjacent to the city; there is no obstacle in the way [of an assault], and the batteries have been completed; so a practicable breach may [soon] be made. The entrenchments of the Arm of the Caliphate, Sa'dullāh Khan, Rustam Khān Bahādur, Fīrūz Jang, and Qāsim Khān are there, and the operations have been going on well,<sup>2</sup> as related at the beginning.

This murīd, the vizier of viziers, and the other slaves, relying upon the help of God and the favour of the imperishable imperial good fortune, will march men up to the fortress of Qandahār. Making a feint<sup>3</sup> in various directions, and raising the sound of the drum and the trumpet (ba ṣadā'-i-kos wa kīrrnāī) will cause the pillars of the garrison's firmness and resolution to shake, and will prevent them from making [even] one sortie.

The Khān, seated in felicity, has made the most strenuous efforts in the preparation of his batteries. Were he to succeed the breach in the wall [could] be made from that direction; and then the first proposal [for an assault] might be able to be carried out by the end of the month, with every chance of success.

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1. The word used is uftāda, which, as the context shows, ought not be taken literally.

2. Sībhā khūb pesh raft. So the mss, and Ch. N., without comment, reads sīphā. A marginal gloss in B.M. has sība, "a place surrounded with walls". Cf note to Letter 26, where the word in context means "forces". Here it could mean a covered trench, but there seems no authority for such an interpretation.

3. B.M. reads: az dīgar atraf sūran andākhta. For sūran, "assault, irruption, war-whoop", see Steingass, 708. I.O. has shōrī, "noise, uproar". N. reads rozan, ignoring yūrish in his own ms N. Ch. reads az dīgar sū shōrish andākhta. Has he emended a corrupt text?

But if that is not done, then all the big guns might be gathered at the entrenchments at the foot of the hill. The wall before them looks very narrow; and there is no doubt (God willing) that a breach might be effected. The assault might be made, after [the men] had been assembled, along every route that leads up to the top of the hill.

However anything which may cast its brilliance upon the heart of angelic penetration, which is a mirror reflecting the lineaments of invisible inspirations, deserves the honour of instant obedience. It behoves the slaves to apply their full strength, in the time available, to performing whatever may be decreed.

The honour of the acceptance of [this murid's] petition, that Daulat Khān Tarīn's rank be increased by five hundred zāt, which was communicated by the jewel-scattering pen, has become a source of exaltation to this murīd, and an occasion to him of distinction and glory.

An event has lately occurred, through the ever-flourishing (bi-hummāl, "unwithering") good fortune of Your Majesty: Mir 'Ālam, entitled Mīr Kalān Sānī, and a yūzbāshī<sup>1</sup> whose name was not discovered, have been killed. Mīr 'Ālam was the Beg Bāshī,<sup>2</sup> and commandant of the Burj-i-Nau (New Bastion) and the Burj-i-Khākistar (Ash Bastion); he was regarded as one of the best officers of the ruler of Īrān (dar silk-i-mardum-i khūb-i-wālī-i-Īrān intizām dāsht).

[Their deaths] occurred in this manner: One day, one of the big guns which had been firing at those [two] bastions, blew up. [Fragments] happened to hit that ill-favoured strife-monger and the yūzbāshī, as they sat in [one of the] bastion[s], playing at dice.<sup>3</sup> Both were flung down into the dust of death,

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1. "Commandant of a hundred".

2. Beg Bāshī seems the best reading, and occurs in Ch.'s ms; N. also reads Beg Bāshī. He notes Palang Bāshī in his B, which Ch. prefers. I.O. appears to read bī shakk bāshī! N. notes this form in S. B.M. perhaps reads palang-bāshī. A marginal note has "mang-bāshī chunānchī..." Was Mīr 'Ālam "Master of the Gaming Tables"?

3. An admission by Aurangzīb, perhaps unconscious, that the Mughul artillery was usually of slight effect. The game the officers were playing was nard.



and carried off by the wind of annihilation<sup>1</sup> so that it was only after assiduous search that the despicable garrison of Qandahār could recover their remains (a'ẓāī). [Afterwards], they buried them in the grave of contempt and calamity (dar gūr-i-mazlat wa idbār).

Upon the disappearance of that trouble-maker, great shrieks and laments burst out from the hearts of the vile garrison.

Mīr 'Ālam is said to have been a son of Mīr Kalān Khaffācha,<sup>2</sup> [a man] of great trust and weight in the time of Shāh 'Abbās [I],<sup>3</sup> and prominent in the capture of Baghdād.<sup>4</sup> His paternal uncle ('ammū) was a jāndār under Shāh Tahmāsp, who esteemed him highly.

Hail to the saintly protector! Meanwhile, a messenger who had been sent by Autar to the ruler of Īrān was [intercepted] on the evening of Tuesday 11th, [Rajab/18 June] the day on which this letter was being engrossed. With [him were] (6) letters written by the Shāh, and by Khalīfa Sultān and other pillars of his impermanent state, (arkān-i-daulat-i-nā-pā'-idārash) dealing with (mutaẓammin-i) the despatch of reinforcements. [The messenger] was trying to enter the fort past the entrenchments of Tāhir Khān, whose men, recognising him as a foreigner, (bigāna) resolved to seize him. Finding no opportunity of entering the fort, he flung the whole mail-bag away in despair (sarāsima shuda kharīṭa-i-nawishtajāt-rā andākhta) and fled. He is still at large; (ba dast niyāmad [however], the bag was brought to this murīd on the same day.

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1. Aurangzīb here repeats phrases used of the casualties in the explosion of the previous week.

2. The orthography of B.M. is followed here, with a tashdīd over the fe.

3. Without ms authority, Ch. omits Shāh.

4. The Persians took Baghdād from the Turks in 1624, and lost it back to them in 1638.



The letter addressed to Autar is attached; all the other papers are with the letter [being sent by] the vizier without peer. They will [all] pass under the luminous eye.

On that day, too, Shujā'at Khān, who had advanced several cos ahead, sent out men to reconnoitre. Karam Beg, brother of the commandant of Zamīn Dāwar, had detailed a qizilbāsh, with two hundred men, to destroy the crops in the plains of Zamīn Dāwar and Qandahār. [The qizilbāsh] went off with three or four men to pick up information (ba khābargīrī), strayed from his companions,<sup>1</sup> and fell into the hands of Shujā'at Khān's scouts; he gave the same account of events as can be extracted from the [captured] correspondence, and is being despatched to the sublime court with the yasāwals who are carrying this letter.

Again on the same day two men returned, whom this murīd had sent out as spies to bring news from Farāh<sup>2</sup> and who had penetrated thence to Sabzāwar.<sup>3</sup> They disclosed that a detachment of two or three thousand of the God-forsaken enemy had reached Bust. Shujā'at Khān has been enjoined not to suffer the men of the victorious army to go in advance of the scouts upon any pretext.

May the Almighty, in His glory and power, render woeful and contemptible (mankūb wa maqhūr) the enemies of the God-assisted state, and cause life-scattering murids to be conquering and victorious!

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1. Az rafiqān judā mānda is probably meant to imply an accidental straying, rather than a deliberate separation.

2. The mss here <sup>have</sup> Farāh, with ha-i-hauwaz. N. and Ch. both have Farāt, an error clearly derived from this orthography.

3. The mss have Sabzār. Ch. uses the current spelling Sabzāwar. N. notes, in his 'U, Shīrāz!

LETTER 29

The siege is lumbering on, under the direction of its imperial commander-in-chief, five days' journey away. Even Aurangzīb's own suggestions are to be laid formally before Sa'du'llāh Khān before the Emperor will initiate action upon them.

In this letter, written on 24 June 1652, Aurangzīb reviews the progress of the various entrenchments. Outwardly, he seems to hope that the laborious process will somewhere, somehow, produce a breach in the walls of Qandahār; and it is clear, from the decision to concentrate the guns in one spot, that everyone has tacitly recognised the inadequacy of the artillery.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God.

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgements of a royal missive (manshūr) delivered by the yasāwals Muḥammad Sharīf and Rustam on 16 Rajab 1062 / 23 June 1652.

[This] lofty order was issued: "Many matters were dealt with in the exalted farmān addressed to the Khān, seated in felicity. Let that murīd peruse it and tell the Khān anything he considers advantageous to himself and agreeable to his own inclination (bihbūd-i-khwud dānad wa rāẓī bāshad). [The Khān] will lay it before the sublime Court, and We shall give orders accordingly."

In what language can this murīd describe this benevolent kindness and condescension, drawn from illimitable stores of graciousness and affability, and directed towards this least of murīds?

Hail to this murīd's qibla and ka'ba!<sup>1</sup> The well-being and good estate (bihbūd wa ṣalāḥ-i-ḥāl) of murīds is conspicuously clear to the spiritual guide of pure heart [possessing] every degree of perfection. So, in response to the questions [raised in the farmān] he has told that incomparable vizier everything relating to our affairs which

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1. Ch. omits ka'ba.

has suggested itself to his weak wit. However, anything that may cast its brilliance upon Your Majesty's heart, of angelic penetration, will conform exactly with the best interests of this murīd.

On 11th Rajab,<sup>1</sup> a letter was sent through Sāqī Beg and other yasāwals to the Court, the refuge of rulers, and will have passed under the luminous gaze. Between them and the date of this letter, Tuesday 17th [Rajab],<sup>2</sup> a further event has occurred: several emissaries (kasān) of the ruler of Īrān have been captured, with a letter from him, and missives from the pillars of his impermanent state, addressed to Ātar overwhelmed in calamity.<sup>3</sup> Since there was nothing in those letters not mentioned in the correspondence previously [captured]<sup>4</sup> this devoted servant suggested to the Arm of the Caliphate, Sa'du'llāh Khān, that he despatch to the Court, exalted as the sky, the news of the capture of those letters together with the letters themselves.

Hail to the saintly protector! It has seemed fit to the vizier of viziers to raise batteries opposite the Māshūrī gate, [which faces] the entrenchments of that stout pillar of the state, (rukṇ-i-rukīn-i-daulat) and to bring the big guns to bear there first; and upon this a detailed report has already been submitted to your Majesty. Accordingly, this murīd has appointed one of his own men, (sar ba rāh-i-kār-i-khwud) to supervise the raising of batteries on the left flank of [the vizier's] force. The man is labouring mightily, and those batteries will be finished (God willing) on the 20th of this month.<sup>5</sup> By the 25th,<sup>6</sup> the batteries which flank the entrenchments of the Khān, seated in felicity, and Qāsim Khān,

1. 18 June, 1652. Aurangzīb is referring to Letter 28.

2. 24 June, 1652; a Monday, not a Tuesday. Cf "Tuesday 11 Rajab" in Letter 28.

3. Autar sarāsar idbār. Here I.O. has a zamma: Autar.

4. sc., on 11 Rajab / 18 June, when the Shāh's messenger fled, leaving his mailbag behind: Letter 28.

5. Thursday, 27 June, 1652.

6. Tuesday, 2 July, 1652.



and which are the responsibility of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ the mushrif of the artillery, will also be finished, and the cannon will have been placed in position thereon.<sup>1</sup> The strictest orders have gone out, (qadḡhan-i-balīḡ rafta) that the utmost diligence (sa'ī-i-maufūr) be displayed in battering down the chosen [stretch of] wall.

Hail to the qibla of necessities and the ka'ba of desires! Much work has been done in the battery of the vizier, of rich experience and well-directed counsels. His force has attained the embankment of the moat, whence they propose to divert (mīl karda) and lay a mine (naqb zadan) in the part where there is no moat.<sup>2</sup> They are labouring as hard as their duty bids them; many of the experienced Khān's servants have lost their lives, (ba kār āmda and) or are wounded.

Qāsim Khān has omitted nothing that ought have been done (farākhwūr-i-maṣāliḡ) in urging his men forward, and in digging out a channel to drain the moat.

This murīd's men have strengthened the stockades<sup>3</sup> which, as reported to Your Majesty, had already been erected (bar pā karda and).

Moreover, during these last few days the accursed garrison have been making ceaseless sorties from dusk until dawn. They come out from three directions, through openings they have made in the wall of the fort.<sup>4</sup> Fanning the flame of

1. Tophārā bālā barāwurda. I.O. omits bālā. The phrase occurs aḡin in the third paragraph of Letter 30.

2. To the phrase ki khandaq nadārad I.O. adds nīz, which seems superfluous: ki nīz khandaq nadārad.

3. The word translated as "stockades" is given in the mss as katgarhā. Ch. reads kangrī, perhaps intending kangura. The ms. reading should be followed. It stands for kaṡgarḡh, a variant form of kaṡhara or kaṡahra; see Platts, 816, S. vv. This is a very common Hindī word, covering almost any kind of enclosure, if made of wood (kāṡh, kaṡh). Among the meanings Platts gives are: "a railing, a palisade; palings; a fence of wood; balustrade; banisters." Kangura (Platts, 855) is the term generally used for the battlements or crenellations, whether ornamental or practical, atop the walls of Muḡhul and earlier buildings. It is clearly inappropriate here, if only because it refers to masonry: "...niched battlement (of a castle, & c.); a parapet wall; spiral line; retiring ledge ... salient and re-entrant carving or moulding; a port-hole, vidette ..." (ibid)

4. Mardūdān-i-qila' az awwal-i-shab ta ākhir ba lā-fāṡila az darīchahā'ī, ki dar dīwār-i-qila' wā karda and, ba siḡ ṡaraf āmda. N. has az awwal ta shab-i-ākhir, and notices a quaint error in his own N., and in 'U, which otherwise follow the mss: ba lā fā'ida for ba lā fāṡila.



war with the wind of their guns, they allow our men ('amala wa fa'la) not a moment's repose. On both sides, many have been killed or injured.

Three [more] stockades,<sup>1</sup> sheltering altogether three thousand men have been constructed and [this murīd's men] are now trying to strengthen them; and so the battle waxes hot (wa hangāma-i-zad wa khwurd garm ast).

Between the stockades and the walls of the fort there is no shelter, except great boulders, and the army cannot advance. It was decided, after careful consideration, that were an attack made without prudent preparation, many men would, God forbid, be lost (talaf shawand) in reaching the foot of the wall; which would be a just cause of the strongest reprehension ('itāb wa khiṭāb).

So it has been decided, conformably to the opinion of the model of viziers, the Khan, that Rāja Rāj Rūp and Rāja Madan Singh<sup>2</sup> should bring their infantry and musketeers down from the hill,<sup>3</sup> and be posted (numāyand) at the right and left of [his] entrenchment [respectively]. Their presence there will be more useful (munasibtar ast) in coping with (ta ... munqasim shawad) the attack which the garrison has been making from three sides, and ought to give the staff and the men more freedom to perform the [principal] task.<sup>4</sup>

1. In mss, sih katgar-i-dīgar. N. omits sih. Ch. persists with kangar.

2. Ch. chooses to amend his ms' Madan Singh to Badan Singh, following N.'s 'U. - but not N. himself.

3. Piyādhā'ī tufangchī az koh firod āwurand; I.O. alone has zūd ārand, a slip easily made. Ch. has rū dārand, a further corruption of the text. N. notes no variant.

4. ...wa 'amla wa fa'la-rā ba qadar-i-furṣat-i-kār dast dahad. I.O. reads, for furṣat, farja; q.v.s.v. farjat, firjat, furjat, "the cheerfulness of a mind freed from sorrow, straits, and difficulties", Steingass, 916. Ch. too follows this reading. Nadwī notes no variant. So far as one can judge, Aurangzīb's style would reject the rather recondite farjat; I have read furṣat. It is interesting to note the phrase 'amala wa fa'la used a second time within three paragraphs.

God almighty willing, [the Khān's] battery will have been brought as near as possible to the wall of the fort before [the Rājas] have taken up their positions on this side; and it will be completely protected (istiḥkām khwāhad dārad).

It appears that until all the big guns have been brought to the area [occupied by] the forces of the Khān, seated in felicity, the long-desired (dilkhwāh) result cannot be obtained. When the guns are [finally] brought up, the wall will be destroyed (mismār karda) on that side, and an assault will be possible.

May the almighty Conqueror endow every murīd and every slave more and more with the blessings of readiness to offer up their lives and willing devotion to duty; and <sup>my</sup> He exhibit your Majesty's invisibly-guided mind in splendour upon the pedestal of glory in all its sun-like brilliance. Amen.<sup>1</sup>

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1. This solemn and unusual conclusion perhaps mirrors a turn of genuine apprehension in Aurangzīb's mind. Six weeks before the walls, and no sign that they, or the garrison, are weakening!

LETTER 30

This long and important letter marks the turning-point of the siege of Qandahār. It was written on, or immediately after, 1 July 1652.

Aurangzīb first deals with four letters from the Emperor, written in the last week of June. Acting upon one knows not what advice, the Emperor brushes aside the view of his wazīr and his son: "az dū jānib yūrish bāyad namūd", and that is that. For good measure, the Emperor cancels a disposition of troops already sanctioned by the wazīr.

Then Aurangzīb reports that doubts of the morale and discipline of the troops under two prominent Tūrānī commanders have compelled cancellation of a projected advance westwards to Kushk-i-Nakhūd. The outlets of the passes to the immediate north-west are now, it seems, the limit of the Mughul forces; so much for the dreams of seizing Farāh and Herāt, and striking terror into Khurāsān.

A sortie from the fort, which destroyed Sa'du'llāh Khān's entrenchment, and killed many of his men, was further proof that the Persians had the upper hand.

And finally an elaborate attempt to surprise the hill-fort on the north-western tip of the Qaitūl ridge, organised and led by Rāja Rāj Rūp, broke up amid scenes of wanton indiscipline almost unbelievable. Aurangzīb's description of the resultant rout is vivid, and probably accurate; but in sparing himself the pain of reflecting upon the causes, and certain results, of the utter want of organisation and control which led to it, he excuses himself from any responsibility, and unfairly blames Rāj Rūp. There was far more wrong with the Mughul army, than the inexperience and misplaced enthusiasm of a single manṣabdār.

With the Persians on the offensive, and the Mughuls in disarray, it must have been clear by 1 July that the siege was doomed.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations and acknowledgement of four rescripts (yarlīgh) from the Emperor, delivered by yasāwals:  
two early on Friday 21 Rajab [1062] / 28 June 1652.  
two more on Monday evening, 24 Rajab / 1 July.

It was written by the royal pen, the treasure-house of inspiration: "There must be an assault from two sides".

Hail to the saintly protector! There are not enough big guns to destroy the walls around the fort all at once. So long as there is no breach, an assault is undesirable (*munāsib nīst*). It has therefore been determined by the vizier, rich in experience, that an assault should first of all be mounted from the direction of his own entrenchment. If no breach be made in that quarter, or the fort on the hill subsequently require to be occupied, all the cannon will be removed to the entrenchment [manned by] this murīd's followers; the wall [opposite] destroyed; and an assault made.

Batteries have therefore been begun in that part, as a consequence of that decision. When the work is done (*hargāh az ān kār firāgh dast dahad*) the cannon will be raised into position,<sup>1</sup> to be fired at any time the model of viziers may choose; and they will bring down the wall. This murīd will then send men in to the assault,<sup>2</sup> in concert with that pillar of the sultanate (the vizier) and other servants of the state who are present.

The *din* (*ṣadāī*) of drums and trumpets<sup>3</sup> from the other three sides will throw into distraction and disorder the troops which the accursed enemy will gather to resist our assault (*hangāma-i-juma'it wa ṣabāt-i-mardūdān-rā*).

It might occur to the sacred heart, that an attack should be made from the direction of the hill on the same day, even if the wall be neither breached nor broken down (*bā wujūd-i-'adam-i-rakḥna wa inhidām-i-dīwār*). In that case, a clear order (*ḥukm-i-ṣarīḥ*) might acquire the honour of issue, that so soon as the Khān, seated in felicity, shall have destroyed the wall opposite his own entrenchments, and be ready for an assault, this life-sacrificing [slave] too

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1. *Bālā āwurda*. Cf this phrase in the previous letter.

2. *Wa īn murīd ... mardum-rā badawānad*. I here follow the reading of B and S as recorded by N., and disregard the plural form of the mss, which N. and Ch. follow.

3. I.O. *karranāy*; B.M. *karnā*, followed by N. and Ch.



(who has staked his very existence upon the success of this campaign (ki zindagī-rā ba anjām-i-īn kār mīkhwahad) assisted by Shāh Nawāz Khān, Rāja Pahār Singh, and the others posted in that quarter, [all] relying upon the imperishable Imperial good fortune, should not await the appearance of a breach, but should press up as close as possible, urging their men onwards.<sup>1</sup>

An order was issued, compelling obedience throughout the universe: "The [proposed] despatch of Rāja Jai Singh with a strong body of men to Shujā'at Khān's position is inexpedient (munāsib nīst). It must not be done". (namībāyad)

Hail to the qibla and ka'ba of this servant! Earlier it was decided, that Shujā'at Khan and Qubād Khan<sup>2</sup> should

1. Here all the mss read mardum badāwanad, and N. notes no variation. The construction of the sentence is: dar īn sūrat hukm-i-ṣarīḥ sharf-i-nifāz yābad tā [Sa'du'llāh Khān and others] mardum badawānad. One would have expected mardum-ra badawānad; and it is odd that the verb takes the plural form when Aurangzīb is speaking of himself two paragraphs back. Was there confusion in the copies Ṣādiq used when preparing the collection?

2. Qubād Khān entered Mughul service after Shāh Jahān's ephemeral conquest of Balkh. He had been Master of the Horse (Mīr Ākhwūr) to Nazr Muḥammad Khān; he surrendered to Qulīch Khān and Khalīlu'llāh Khān, was sent with his four sons to Shāh Jahān at Kābul, and given a zamīndārī, a gift of Rs 20,000, and a manṣab of 1000/500. In the 21st year (1647-48) he was called from his tuyūl to Court and made Falconer (Qūsh Beg). In 1649, now 2000/1500, he "fought bravely with Rustam Khān and Qulīj Khān against the Qizil-bāsh" outside Qandahār (M.U.III, 101). Promoted 2500/1500, he seems not to have been further raised until the 30th year. His rank when he was at Samugarh under Dārā does not appear in M.U.; after the battle, "with other Tūrānīs" he went over to Aurangzīb with his commander Khalīlu'llāh Khān. Aurangzīb sent him with Shaikh Mīr in pursuit of Dārā, and left him as Ṣubahdār of Tatta with the rank of 4000/3000. As such, he blocked Dārā's northward flight from Bhūj after Deorai (cf Sarkār's Aurangzīb, I, 527). His later career is less known: two brief terms as Ṣubahdār of Tatta, a spell as Thānadār of Poona under Jai Singh (1664-5); then to Court; then to Kābul under Muḥammad Amīn Khān; and an obscure death as Ṣubahdār of Orissa. (M.U., III, 101). The similar fate of Naṣīrī Khān, Khān-i-Daurān II, comes to mind (note to Letter 26).

I have not been able to check Athar 'Alī's note (Mughul Nobility, 69) of a rank under Aurangzīb of 2000/2500, more suwār than zāt. He refers to the 'Ālamgir Nāma, 120. Its abstract, the first part of the Ma'aṣir-i 'Ālamgīrī, seems not to mention him. Dr Athar 'Alī has collected other references to him at pp 115 and 181.

advance to Kushk-i-Nakhūd<sup>1</sup> and Maimand,<sup>2</sup> with five thousand cavalry, and remain on the alert. At the same time, a report reached us, that a body of the abominable enemy had drawn close to the river Helmand.

Since there was doubt about the firmness and steadiness of the troops [under Shujā'at Khān and Qubād Khān], the further advance of this force was deemed inadvisable. The Arm of the Caliphate, Sa'du'llāh Khān, was consulted; and it was agreed, that these troops should remain within five cos of the [main body of the] army, but send scouts as far as Kushk-i-Nakhūd and Maimand.

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1. "within fair supportable distance from Qandahār" (General Primrose to C.-i-C. 19 July 1880: Official Account 493) "Kushk-i-Nakhud is an important position covering roads leading from the Helmand to Kandahar; whilst remaining on the Helmand, forage and grain could hardly be obtained, whereas they are plentiful at Kushk-i-Nakhud; between the latter place and Girishk there is a desert 25 miles broad". (ibid; cf 492)

The literal form Kūshk-i-Nukhūd, "pulse palace", seems not to be in use. The vowel is now short: Kushk, "an upper chamber, gallery, or balcony on the top of a house; a hall, parlour" (Steingass, 1033). All the mss however, have Kūshk.

2. This is Maiwand, about 8 miles north of Kushk-i-Nakhūd and 45 miles north-west of Qandahār, the scene of the disaster to General Burrows' troops on 27 July 1880, at the hands of Ayūb Khān. The defeat is described at length in the Official Account, 499-523. An unopposed march after Qandahār had been relieved, to view the field, bury the dead, and gather survivors, took from 9th to 15th September, 1880; ibid, 600.

The mss read Maimand; but I.O. seems to read Mahmand. Nadwī notes no variant. The modern form is Maiwand. The Afghan victory is so commemorated on monuments at Āmānābād and at Kābul, in the middle of the modern Jāda-i-Maiwand.

By way of further precaution, Khawāja 'Ināyetullāh and Shāh Muḥammad Qatḡhan have been instructed to [take] a body of men out towards the passes,<sup>1</sup> where on the previous occasion (sc., 1649) the accursed enemy had emerged and plundered the envious (tākht-i-nawāhī...namūda) of the fort of Qandahār. They have been commanded to take the greatest care, and be perpetually watchful.

Since a detachment of the victorious army, ignoring the orders (gufta) of Shujā'at Khān, had passed ahead of the scouts and seized [enemy] cattle at pasture, the mace-bearers Yār Husain and Abdāl Beg were sent to bring them back, if not willingly then by force, behind the scouts ('aqb-i-qarāwalān).

Rāja Jai Singh has encamped with the vanguard detachment (mardum-i-fauj-i-harāwal) before the Khizrī gate,<sup>2</sup> [at a place] that had remained vacant. [He has] a first-rate force; there is no advantage to be had from their remaining there, except that they are [completing the circle of] investment; [but] they have been brought forward [nevertheless].

Other servants have been posted in various positions in the batteries.

Should it please your Majesty that more men be sent up from the entrenchments to the vanguard, where a considerable re-inforcement is now urgently desired, they might be placed under Jai Singh, and sent to Shujā'at Khān's position; and [the position opposite] Khawāja Khizr's gate might remain unoccupied. A clear order might be issued, that action may be taken accordingly.

Hail to the qibla of necessities, and the ka'ba of desires! Detailed reports of most events which have happened must certainly<sup>3</sup> have come to Your Majesty's ears through the letters of the Khān, seated in felicity, and the daily news-bulletins. Nevertheless, orders have come time and again (mukarrar qadḡhan rafta) that this servant should

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1. Darrahā'ī; that is, passes through the ranges running S.-W. to N.-E. to the west of Qandahār. N., by mistake, has daryā'ī.

2. Mss. darwāza-i-Khawāja Khizr. N. and Ch. Khizri, without Khawāja. N. notes no variant. A small hand has added Khawāja before Khizr in I.O.

3. Albatta, omitted by I.O.



write a full and faithful account of events; and so, by ineluctable compulsion he sets pen to paper.<sup>1</sup>

On Saturday, the 22nd of this month,<sup>2</sup> early in the morning, a large force of armed men (juma'atī) burst from the fort and rushed upon (rekhtand) the entrenchment of the prudent vizier. When his men realised what was happening, (āgāh shuda) they offered strenuous resistance. Men on both sides, laying hold of their bows and arrows, and their swords, fought furiously. After the fire of slaughter and strife had raged for three or four gharīs, with a rain of gunfire pouring down both from the top of the fort, and the central zone of the hill, many of the Khān's best men were killed or wounded. Among them was an Afghān officer (juma'dār) named Muṣṭafā, whose yearly salary was twelve thousand rupees.<sup>3</sup> Among the God-forsaken enemy, too, many were killed and injured by blows from swords and battle-axes (az zakhm-i-tegh wa tabar).

Further news: When Rāja Rāj Rūp was given the duty of capturing the fortifications on the Chihil Zīna Hill, he did not succeed (dast ba ham nadārad). Approaching this murīd and the all-knowing vizier, he submitted that were he to construct a battery [opposite] the Qaitūl ridge and the 'Alī Qāpī [gate],<sup>4</sup> he would display the very greatest determination (masā'ī-i-jamīla) in an effort to make amends for his past [failure] (tadāruk-i-gužashta).<sup>5</sup> Because the success of our

1. Reading with the mss and Ch. shatr ma'rūz dārad, and rejecting N.'s satr.

2. Saturday, 29 June, 1652.

3. This salary would have been paid by Sa'du'llāh Khān, not by the Emperor. Muṣṭafā was in Sa'du'llāh's service, as Sa'du'llāh had been in Āṣaf Khān's.

4. The gate of the fort of Lakah, not one of the gates of Qandahār. See note on Topgraphy, supra.

5. An allusion to his conduct in 1645-1647? Surely not, but rather a tasteless sneer at his inability to storm the Chihil Zīna.



enterprise remains the principal object, and also because there were very many musketeers with him, and infantry from [his own] mountainous territories, it was resolved, in conjunction with the vizier without peer, that Rāja Devi Singh<sup>1</sup> and Shādmān the Ghakkar,<sup>2</sup> with two hundred Bundela infantry of the Imperial service, should replace him at the Chihil Zīna hill; and that he should move over to this quarter, with Muẓaffar Ḥusain (who also displays a desire to distinguish himself) (ki izhār-i-kār-ṭalabī mīnamūd) and several officers of low rank (zīra manṣab) from the forces attached to Kābul.

[Meanwhile] Rāja Rāj Rūp (rāja-i-mushār ilaihi) spent several days in gathering materials [to build] stockades.<sup>3</sup> A week after [being moved to his new position] he waited upon the vizier of viziers, and said: "My men have discovered a way by which I could seize the citadel (ark) on the Qaitūl (ridge) by a coup de main (ba duzdī)<sup>4</sup>. The vizier satisfied himself [that the proposal deserved consideration] and referred the Rāja (īn shakhs rā) to this servant. Although the idea appeared, in view of the caution and vigilance of the garrison, to be far from practicable, and [indeed] highly unwise (ma'qūl namīshud), Rāja Rāj Rūp pressed very hard [for its acceptance], promising prodigious results (mubāligha mīkard). Lest his proposal be represented to your Majesty as an opportunity lost, and failure to act on it become ground for Imperial reprehension, (sabab-i-'itāb-i-pādshāhī gardad) it was decided, to put an end to all controversy and to silence his talk, (barāye ilzām-i-ḥujjat wa daf'-i-guft-o-gū-i-ū) that he should remain in a place of concealment, so that when an opportunity arose he might implement his proposal in the light of his own intelligence and experience (az rū'ī fahmidagī wa

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1. Ch. has Debī. He was a Bundela; his rank was 2000/2000. Life in M.U.II, 295-297.

2. I.O. has Ghakkar, the more usual form. B.M. Gakkhar (or Gakhar). Ch. has Kahkar (or Khakar), following N., who merely notes that his 'U omits the word.

3. Ch. again has kangar for katgar (sc., kaṭḡarḡh). See note to Letter 29.

4. I.O. reads ba zūdī. N. notes this reading in S.

pukhtagī) and [meanwhile] he should make every possible effort to preserve the secrecy of his intentions.

For the sake of the success of the business, the Khān, the pattern of felicity, arranged men and equipment,<sup>1</sup> and anything else [the Rājā] asked for; so on Saturday evening, the time [the Rājā] himself chose, that vizier of well-directed counsels commanded that Bāqī Khān,<sup>2</sup> Rājā Madan Singh,<sup>3</sup> Chatur Bhūj, and others who occupied entrenchments nearby, should supply reinforcements, so that they might [thereby] share in this enterprise. To them [he added] about a thousand of his own finest cavalry;<sup>4</sup> and for every single man he appointed an exact position.

So, early on Saturday evening, in accordance with these arrangements Rājā Rāj Rūp sent a force by the route fixed upon. Using the boulders in the central zone of the hill as a screen, he himself took up his station in the lowest part;<sup>5</sup>

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1. Maṣāliḥ wa kūmak-a reversal of our idiom.

2. Bāqī Khān Chela was a Qalmāq ("calmuck") slave of Shāh Jahān, who found favour and was promoted 700/500 in the sixth year; in the 9th he was 1000/1000, and in the 10th 2000/2000. The biography in M.U. I, 427-429, is meagre, and does not mention his part at Qandahār. He had been darogha-i-ghuslkhāna of the palace at Agra since the 17th year, was "later" made qila'dār, and died in Shah Jahan's 27th year (1653-54). His younger son became Bāqī Khān after the fall of Golconda in 1687, and before his death in 1707 earned a brief fame by his strict, impartial attitude to the contestants in the civil war of that year, when he held Āgra fort

3. N. here reads Madan Singh, noting Badan Singh in 'U.

4. The text of I.O. omits suwār; suwā is tipped into the margin.

5. Khud dar kamar-i-koh sanghā-rā panāh sākhta wa dar jarrhā jā girifta is the clear reading of B.M., and also I.O. (fo. 21B, top line). It gives the meaning above. N. notes it in his B, but prefers hujrahā. Perhaps S read so; for Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār paraphrases; "...and piled up a shelter of stones in the hill-side as his own station" (Aurangzīb, I, 157). Ch.'s ms. has hujrahā, and further alters the sense by reading bināh (sic?) for panāh. Ch. however amends hujrahā to the almost comic chatrhā, "umbrellas". Apart from textual considerations, jarrhā - "lower reaches of the hill", (cf Steingass, 358, s.v.) jarr fits the sense. The essential requirement of a surprise attack was silence. Even though it was soon to be broken, we cannot imagine Rāj Rūp inviting attention to himself by piling up a stone shelter in the dark.

and he reported progress to the Khān, seated in felicity.

The energetic (kār-ṭalab) Bāqī Khān, Rāja Madan Singh, and Chatur Bhūj Chauhān sent a detachment to join the incomparable vizier's men, over towards the 'Alī Qapī gate; they themselves then joined (nizd āmadand) Rāja Rāj Rūp. This murīd too had detailed three hundred selected cavalry of his own contingent to join the Rāja.

But meanwhile, a quarrel arose between Rāja Rāj Rūp and Muzaffar Husain; as it was night, and the reinforcements constituted a considerable number of men, the sound of voices<sup>1</sup> grew loud.<sup>2</sup> When the moon rose, and one watch of night remained, there was [still] no news of the men the Rāja had sent [up the hill]. Word came, [however] when four gharīs<sup>3</sup> of night were left, that they had found the garrison on the alert (bīdār) on one side; and had turned back.

1. For āwāzhā, Ch. has āwāz.

2. This narrative leaves much unexplained. Was the "quarrel" (guft-o-gū, a neutral term) taken up by the various platoons under the two officers? Or was news of it passed down the line? One can imagine two men's voices carrying in the night air; but unless the troops were totally without discipline, what relevance to an altercation between two turbulent officers has the presence of "a considerable body of men" (juma'-i-bisyār)? Though Aurangzīb does not expressly say so, the disturbance must have alerted the garrison on the hill, as shown by his choice of bīdār to describe them.

The deplorable want of self-control shown by the participants, whose "āwāzhā buland gasht" is silently passed over by Aurangzīb. With such indiscipline, of what use were jān-niṣārī and kār-ṭalabī? Aurangzīb as Emperor had little success in curbing his generals' quarrels in the Deccan. Did he recognise that they prefigured the ruin of his Empire?

From a letter of about 1654 from Aurangzīb to Ja'far Khan (c.1600-1670) (I.O. fo. 166A) it appears that Muzaffar Husain might have been a brother of Mīr Malik Husain (c.1615-1697), Aurangzīb's foster-brother: see note to Letter 3. This might explain Aurangzīb's indulgent attitude towards that officer's part in Rāj Rūp's failure. Aurangzīb quite effectively suggests that the Rāja was on a frolic of his own - although his account of the inception of the enterprise makes it plain he was not.



Rāja Rāj Rūp informed the imperial troops of this development, and told them to return. He stood to his position awaiting the return of his own men, whom he had sent forward. Others remained by him, hoping for a chance to distinguish themselves; (az rūī-i-kār-talabī) and, just then, one of the Rāja's men foolishly<sup>1</sup> reported to him that some of (juma'ī az) his troops had gained the top of the hill, and entered the fort. Being inexperienced, and carried away by excitement<sup>2</sup> the Rāja relied upon that baseless allegation; blowing his trumpets and beating his drums, he caused the glad news of victory to be despatched to the Khān of lofty station. Hearing the drums and the trumpets, the men whom he had dismissed returned, and reported to him [again].

But it [soon] became apparent that the report had no foundation; (aṣlī nadāsht) forthwith the sun, beginning to thrust aside the curtain [of night], rose; the enemy saw the situation, and the affair took another turn (ṣuḥbat rang-i-dīgar girift). The garrison swarmed out; (hujūm āwurda) the multitude which had gained the summit of the hill was within range of their muskets; (ba bād-i-tufang girift) some were killed, and some wounded.

It did not appear necessary (waqt-i-muqtaṣāī-i-ān nabūd) to accord severe punishment to Rāja Rāj Rūp for his gross imprudence and negligence. Reprehension and reproof were administered orally (taubīkh wa sarzānish-i-zabānī namūda). Since he had borne much disappointment in this affair, this murīd took him to his own entrenchment, in accordance with plans previously settled. Perhaps in that post he may perform some worthy service; and so cleanse the sweat of his shame from the face of his honour.<sup>3</sup> By this means, he might be preserved from the Imperial censure.

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1. Kas-i-Rāja....i-nafahmīda. The Rāja must bear some blame for this blunder. It appears he had not set up a proper signals network.

2. Az khām-kārī wa sarāsīmagī - an odd turn of phrase to describe a warrior as seasoned and courageous as Rāj Rūp. Sarasima usually suggests panic fear, rather than enthusiasm.

3. 'Araq-i-infi'āl az chihra-i-ḥamīyat-i-khwesh pāk sāzad. The phrase, as usual, should be taken fairly literally. Steingass' translation of 'araq-i-infi'āl as "blush, funk" (845, s.v. 'araq) is quaintly idiomatic.



May the sun of the Caliphate and of world dominion  
remain ever brilliant in its celestial mansion of control  
of the clines and subjugation of the [seven] zones [of the  
earth]!

LETTER 31

The Persians had swarmed over Sa'du'llāh Khān's trenches on the morning of 29 June; that night, the attempt on the Lakah hill-fort had miscarried; in ignorance of this twin reverse, Shāh Jahān on 1 July, 1652 wrote reiterating his assistance that the bombardment be divided. Reports of the manifest inability of his guns to damage Qandahār's mud walls have impressed the Emperor not at all.

Aurangzīb tries once again to explain, while professing a readiness to obey; and he further reports that there are insufficient engineers' stores to drain the moat, or to lay a mine. The letter appears to mark time; but towards the end Aurangzīb clearly shows that he knows there is little more to be done.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Salutations and acknowledgement of a royal letter (manshūr) written on Monday 11 Tīr / [24 Rajab] / 1 July 1652 and delivered on Saturday 16 Tīr / 29 Rajab / 6 July 1652.

Brief thanks.

A world-obeyed order was issued, demanding compliance throughout the universe:

"An attack from two sides is quite practicable (mumkin ast) and must be made. An attack from one side only is entirely out of the question. The two Sūrat guns must remain where they are; and six more big guns are to be brought<sup>1</sup> into the entrenchment of the Khān, seated in felicity. The moment a practicable breach is opened (rāh baham rasad), an assault must be made; and then, by God's grace, both the lower fort<sup>2</sup> and the fort at the top of the hill ought to be taken".

Hail to the qibla of this murīd! Anything that has occurred to the sacred heart of angelic penetration, which is a receptacle of invisible illuminations and indubitable inspirations, is the marrow of propriety. Obedience thereto is obligatory.

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1. Āwurda. I.O., alone, reads āwurad, as if Aurangzīb himself were to transfer the guns.

2. qila'-i-pāyān; sc., the fort of Qandahār.

This murīd has written, conformably to his feeble understanding, that the assault should really be made from one side [only], since there are not enough powerful guns to destroy (ki ... tawān andākht) the wall of the fort on two sides simultaneously. This fact will have become known to your Majesty through the letters of the Khān, the pattern felicity. It is unwise to attack (dawīdan munāsib nist) until there is a breach in the wall and a way is opened through which [our] men can enter.

But now a peremptory command has been issued, that the assault must be made without fail from every side, (az har taraf) even though it is quite clear that neither the fire (zarb) of the two Sūrat guns nor that of the one powerful gun<sup>1</sup> is strong enough to make a breach<sup>2</sup>.

Out of regard, therefore, for the world-obeyed order, and unrestrained by any obstacles, after a breach shall have been made in the wall opposite the entrenchment of the vizier without peer, two gharīs before dawn on a date to be chosen by him, this murīd will (God almighty willing) detach to the attack his own men, with a squadron of imperial troops stationed beside them in whatever manner [the vizier] might direct. Through the divine aid, and [that] ever-flourishing good fortune [which is] the protection of the Caliphate they will not suffer a single particle of effort and exertion to be overlooked, in [attempting] to capture the fort on the hill.

It is hoped, that the all-powerful Conqueror will, purely out of his generosity, elevate the hidden desires of the sacred heart from [behind] the curtain of concealment, and show them forth in splendour upon the pedestal of disclosure; and that he may concede to murīds and slaves a high degree of honour in his sacred vestibule.<sup>3</sup>

It acquired the honour of being written: "Since the capture of the two other forts<sup>4</sup> is also intended, (dar pesh ast)

1. Balki yak top-i-durust; meaning probably, the gun of largest calibre, rather than "the only effective gun".

2. Chi qadr rakhna khwāhad shud. See notes to Letter 10 on this ironic idiom.

3. Dar peshgāh-i-aqdas; here meaning "in the court of heaven", but also used to mean "in the Emperor's (sacred) sight". The double entendre is deliberate.

4. Bust and Zamīn Dāwar, left alone (by Shah Jahan's command) at the beginning of the siege.

it is better that efforts be made to capture the fort of Qandahār as soon as possible".

Hail to the true preceptor and guide! In proportion to his earnest desire, and his own capacity, this servant has omitted nothing, and is omitting nothing, that might advance [the Imperial cause].

Some time ago (muddatī ast) the work of draining the moat and preparing a mine was stopped, through lack of materials (az rahguzar-i-qillat-i-maṣāliḥ mauqūf shuda). Nothing is being done now. This murīd had already realised, from the nature of the task, that it would be impossible to capture [the fort] by this method; [so] he had submitted on many previous occasions, that the [only] way to take this stronghold (munḥaṣir) was by assault.

[Even] now, it would be well if the walls on the side [where the moat is] were to be quickly destroyed within the time available.<sup>1</sup>

The letters which the model of viziers and the news-writers have sent during this [siege] have related, in the fullest detail, the work done, doing, and proposed.

In the light of all that anything which comes into the far-seeing mind of your Majesty, which is capable of perceiving the nature of the smallest particle, will spread brilliance by its appearance.

May the curtain of grandeur remain affixed to the door-posts of perpetuity!.

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1. Tā furṣat bāqī ast. Though the siege was to break up sooner than expected, the troops must be got over the passes before snow began to fall. Aurangzīb would have been thinking of his ruinous retreat over the Hindū Kush in October, 1647.



LETTER 32

On 8 July, 1652, before the last letter would normally have reached him, the Emperor gave in. Influenced probably by the misfortunes of 29 June, he wrote to Aurangzīb in his own hand, authorising him and Sa'du'llāh Khān to do whatever they wished, on condition only that they assaulted the fort the moment a practicable breach appeared.

Sensing the rebuke Shāh Jahān intended, Aurangzīb defends his past conduct before he indicates, without enthusiasm, his willingness to obey. No longer can he argue the advantages of a massed bombardment; he knows that not all the guns outside Qandahār can make any impression upon those walls. Yet he and Sa'du'llāh Khān will try once more.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a royal letter (manshūr) written by the Emperor himself (ba qalam-i-jawāhar raqam) late on Monday afternoon, 1 Sha'bān [1062] / 8 July 1652, and delivered by yasāwals on Saturday 6th Sha'bān / 13 July, 1652.

Formal thanks.

It obtained the elegance of being written:

"Everything that has occurred to [Our] sacred heart in any matter has been committed to writing. As the proverb has it, (gufta and) disputes over land should be settled on the land itself.<sup>1</sup> [So] let that murīd, or that excellent vizier, adorned with every admirable attribute, carry out any thought that may enter their minds. For two months, the victorious army has stood before the fort, attempting to destroy the walls of the fort on top of the hill. Let the three cannons, [therefore], now in that murīd's battery, be kept where they are".

Hail to the qibla<sup>2</sup> of the inhabitants of the world! This servant recognises that the service of his preceptor and guide is a treasure of spiritual and temporal felicities,

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1. Qazīya-i-zamīn ba sar-i-zamīn. Ch. prefers qisṣa, a mistake.

2. Ch. omits qibla.

and he devotes his life to that service alone (maḥz barāye ān mīkhwahad). While he has been engaged in [this] siege, in co-operation with [the other] well-wishes of the state, he has, as far as in him lies, never permitted any slackness in his management of any matter; nor is he permitting any now. Any idea that presents itself to his feeble understanding he communicates to the Khān, the pattern of felicity.

May the Almighty (honoured be His power) graciously accord to every slave the grace of performing his duty, and sacrificing his life! May He condescend to disclose in splendour, and in the most excellent manner, the hidden desires of the sacred heart!

At the beginning, it was decided, upon the advice of the model of viziers, that batteries should first be raised, and guns trained, opposite the Māshūrī gate, where his own entrenchments are, so that the wall might be destroyed and an attack made on that side.

In obedience to this decision, therefore, this servant put forth the greatest efforts (qadghan-i-balīgh namūda) in completing and perfecting batteries; he has already reported the facts [to your Majesty].

While the batteries were building, the vizier of prudent counsels brought up the cannon Fath-i-Lashkar, and three other big guns; these guns were fixed incessantly at the maximum rate, for two days (dū roz-i-mutawātir top bisyār sar dāda).

But finally it was realised that these guns were having no effect (kārī namīkushāyad), as no breach could be seen.

A nice sense of honour, the fruits of his having been brought up by your Majesty (ghairat-i-tarbīyat-i-ān ḥaẓrat) and having been your Majesty's apprentice (damangīr gashta), compel this life-sacrificing servant to throw himself upon the generosity of the Almighty (honoured be His power) and to attack [at least] once from the direction of the hill. It would be far from his principles of honour and manliness to retreat from the fort when, through the most perfect solicitude (kamāl tawajjuh) of the sacred heart, such a huge army has been assembled for the capture of Qandahār.

For the sake, therefore, of effecting this intention the advice of the Khān, seated in felicity, [has been taken];

two other cannons from the Sūrāt park have been brought to this side; they had been in the entrenchments opposite the Māshūrī gate. As well, a large cannon which was there previously has been brought up.<sup>1</sup>

Two great guns, namely Fath-i-Lashkar and [another] Surat gun, have been brought up against the 'Alī Qāpī gate, where all is ready for an assault.

But as for actually beginning (mu'amlā) the assault, Your Majesty knows best; being the perfect and most excellent preceptor and guide, abundantly endowed with wisdom, the embodiment of experience (mazīd-i-tajruba) and the tutor of the wise men of the age (āmūzgar-i-'aqlān-i-rozgār).

In this connection, a world-obeyed order has been given: "The assault is to be made the moment a breach appears".

[Now] the guns [on the spot], everything about which will have been explained to your Majesty in the letters of the Arm of the Caliphate, Sa'du'llāh Khān, are quite clearly incapable of making a breach.<sup>2</sup>

All the loyal supporters of the state have submitted that it was undesirable to make an assault so long as a clear order to that effect was not issued.

The letters of the model of viziers will have set before your Majesty a detailed account of [past] events. Bearing this in mind (li-hazā) [this murīd] submits an account of the present state of affairs; and he awaits a renewed and incontrovertible command.

Let immediate orders be given upon anything which may cast its brilliance upon the mirror of [that] murīd, which resembles the sun, and which is the receptacle of invisible inspiration; so that action may be taken accordingly.

The Khān, the pattern of felicity, has answered the questions (muqaddimatī) raised in the royal farmān addressed to him, and [the reply] ought to have reached Your Majesty by now.

May the world-warming sun of the Caliphate and the Sultanate continue to shed its resplendent light upon the heads of mortal men!

1. Sawāi yak top-i-durust-i-sābiq. See the note on durust, in this context, in Letter 31.

2. Ma'lum ki chi qadr-i-rakhna tawānand kard, "it is well-known what kind of breach they can make". See the note on this idiom in Letter 10.

LETTER 33

Even as his last letter was yet on the road, the Emperor has made up his mind; he will abandon the siege, and he knows who is to blame. Already he has written to Sa'du'llāh Khān: let the siege be lifted, and the troops come away.

The sequel, unexpected but not unnatural, has already come to pass; the Afghāns of the Khojak pass are up, the road to Multān is too dangerous, and Aurangzīb has already begun to march away towards Kābul. The siege had lasted two months and two days, and had effected nothing at all.

Conventional salutations and acknowledgement of an imperial letter, dated Friday, 5 Sha'bān [1062] / 12 July 1652, and delivered by the yasāwals Abū Tālib and Aḥmad on 10 Sha'bān, / Wednesday 17 July, 1652.

The facts of the arrival of the previous exalted command,<sup>1</sup> and of the arrangements for the retreat, together with the reasons offered for the delay, will already be known to Your Majesty in detail from the letter of the all-wise vizier.

Far had it been from the desires of this murīd's heart that we should beat a retreat in this manner from before Qandahār (ki ba īn tarīq az īn taraf bar gardad). That sense of honour and self-respect, which is a necessary consequence of being a murīd educated by the true preceptor and guide, had [led him to] hope that he might devote himself to [this] labour (ṣarf-i-jahd namuda) as long as a breath of his borrowed life remains; so that by sacrificing his life, he might acquire some honour in [Your Majesty's] estimation.

But, the exalted order being so [peremptory], he inevitably abandoned his own plans.

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1. As the previous letter says nothing about a retreat, the "farmān-i-wālā shān-i-sābiq" now mentioned may only now be being acknowledged by Aurangzīb. It would have arrived between 14 and 16 July: Aurangzīb might have left an immediate reply to Sa'du'llāh Khān. Chaudhurī, by inserting a comma between pesh az ān and batafsīl, distorts the sense. There was no "previous delay" to be excused. Aurangzīb is referring to Sa'du'llāh Khān's letter immediately acknowledging the order to retreat. Pesh az ān is used adverbially, not adjectivally.



In obedience to the world-obeyed mandate, and with the advice of the prudent vizier, he set out for the destination on the date fixed,<sup>1</sup> as already reported [in the vizier's letter].

He hopes, that through the imperishable imperial good fortune, the accursed enemy will flee in ignaminy, upon the mere appearance of the victorious armies in that direction.

Hail to the saintly protector! Earlier, this murīd had reported,<sup>2</sup> that in compliance with the imperial order, he had sent Mubārak Khān, Kākar Khān, and Wafādār Khān back to Multān, along the route by which he had come up. With them [went] a number of his own followers. Just now these men have reported that the road might be unsafe, because the local Afghān tribes are up in arms.<sup>3</sup> It was thus unwise to send this force; and, in any case, through the grace of the All-Powerful, the mind of this servant was quite at ease about the [state] of the province of Multān and the arrangements he had made for its administration [in his absence].

The original plans were therefore cancelled; and the thānadārs of Qūshinj and Dukī<sup>4</sup> were instructed in writing to report to Multān.

God almighty willing, this murīd shall soon have reached Ghazni. Any further order that may be made will be punctiliously carried out.

May the sheltering shade of the Caliphate continue to throw its shadow in perpetuity!

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1. No earlier than 14 July, nor later than 16. 'Azim-i-maqṣad namūd: the past definite makes the sense clear.

2. No such report survives.

3. Az fasād-i-aqwām-i Afghānān-i-ān simt rāh-i-mazbūr khalal-pazīr shuda bāshad. News of the ill success of the siege no doubt prompted this disaffection. So it was in 1880, after the disaster of Maiwand; Official Account, 585, 586-7, 589-92. The remarks about the great heat in August, 1880, should be noted.

4. The thānadār of Dukī was 'Ālam Barkī, left there on 26 April, 1652; and Sāiyid Baqr Bukhārī had been left in Qūshinj on 5 May. (Letter 24)

LETTER 34

As his armies march towards Kābul, defeated yet still "victorious" the Emperor expresses his concern lest his troops, "numerous as the stars in heaven", be harassed by marauding squadrons of Ūzbeks. Aurangzīb has their measure, and referring to his previous experience with them seeks to compose the qualms of the Court.

On or before 12 July, Shāh Jahān had ordered the seige raised; yet on 17 July he writes to authorise the seige to be continued for another month. Such incredible indecision brings its own nemesis: whether command or permission, the Emperor's letter will not be obeyed, because the army has broken up like a townful of schoolboys at the end of term. Aurangzīb states the facts baldly, as if they were no matter for surprise; to him, perhaps, they were not.

The carefully composed apostrophe against the Ūzbeks, in rhyming prose, would have been almost impudent in its irony, were we not certain that Aurangzīb had no sense of humour at all. Yet the Ūzbeks did melt away, as he had predicted.

After conventional salutations, acknowledgement of the receipt of two farmāns:

one written on 8th Sha'bān [1062]/15 July 1652, and delivered by yasāwals on Saturday [13th]/20 July.

another written on 10th Sha'bān/17 July, and delivered on Sunday, 14th/21 July, also by yasāwals.

A report of the retreat from Qandahār of the armies, numerous as the stars in the heavenly sphere, ('asākir-i-gardūn mā'sir) has already been submitted to the Court, the refuge of creation, and should have come to your Majesty's notice.

Hail to the spiritual guide, the cherisher of murīds! In the Balkh campaign this sincere-natured are tested time and again the [military worth] of the army, [consisting] of

zamīndārs, Khāns, Sultāns and other ranks of men, which the Tūrānīs of those <sup>parts</sup> assembled against him. He is therefore quite certain, that the appearance of those ten or twelve thousand faint-hearted Ūzbeks (Ūzbekān-i-bī-jān) will have no effect (chi khwāhād būd). To extirpate them utterly, a mere half of the army now under your Majesty's command would suffice.

This murīd did not wish to return empty-handed (bī-ḥusūl-i-maṭlab) with the victorious armies, after having [had to] abandon the siege of Qandahār. (dast az qila/bāz dāshta) However, [even though] the second farmān [of 10th Sha'bān] allowed [the raising of the siege] to be postponed for one month, it was impossible to obey it (imṣāl-i-farmān..muta'azzir būd); for news of the first command had spread abroad; its plain and imperative nature [became known]; the scouts returned [from their outposts]; and the discipline of the siege began to disintegrate. (fatūr-i-muḥāsira)

Therefore there was no alternative; with the concurrence of [all] loyal supporters of the state, the retreat had [already] been begun [when the second order was delivered].

Hail to the saintly preceptor! This servant had been anxious, in the light (mutālī) of the royal command already issued, directing the vizier without peer to travel quickly back [to Kābul], to take fifteen thousand of his own cavalry to chastise the enemy, overwhelmed in ignominy; (a'dā'-i-idbār shi'ār) [he had intended] to move by forced marches along with the Khān, seated in felicity.

But since it was intended that our great park of artillery, and the entire camp, should pass in safety along this very dangerous road [from Qandahār to Kābul] (īn rāh-i-pūr ashob); and since that would be a task of the greatest difficulty unless this murīd were present; it was decided, upon the opinion (ta'ammul) of the vizier of clear mind, rich in counsel, that the [ <sup>1</sup> ] and the artillery should not go without him [sc. that he should go with them]

This sincere-natured one, and that Arm of <sup>the</sup> Caliphate, are therefore to return [to Kābul] by forced marches (ba yelghār mutawajjuh pesh gardand) with the artillery; and one of the nobles is to be [placed in command of] the victorious army, with orders to take charge of the whole camp and conduct it carefully through every stage of the march. [to Kābul].

This murīd has sent a nishān to Shamsheh Khān, commanding that he ascertain the positions where the accursed Ūzbeks (almān) might be concentrating [along the road], and submit a report in writing without delay.

He has also sent out as spies a number of men who know the locality well. (wāqifān-i-īn sarzamīn) They will bring in more exact reports.

God almighty willing, if any exact news of the accursed enemy should reach us after our arrival at Qarā Bāgh, or

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1. The mss here read qullat-i-aghraq. I.O. is over-written and smudged, but it shares with B.M. a tashdīd over the qullat, which if correctly vocalised represents "mountain-tops" (S. 982) Ch. has amended qulāb to qullat. N. notes the ms. reading in S. and emends: qullat-i-an aghrūq (cf T. ughrugh, "tent; camp, encampment, S., 77). He overlines qullat, as if a proper name. Does Aurangzīb mean qullat-i-'araq, the amphorae of liquor for the tippling European artillery-men? For qullat in the sense of jug, jar, see Steingass 984, s.v. and for a note on drunken gunners, Letter 58.



even before that, and if we so much as catch sight of that contemptible crew (aṣarī az ān maqḥūrān padīd āyad) we are resolved to destroy them. With the help of God, and the support of the imperishable Imperial good fortune, we shall give that miserable mob a sound <sup>r</sup>dubbing. It is quite likely that the mere sound of the approaching pomp of the victorious army will fill them with panic fear; they will count it a great blessing merely to have escaped, and will flee in confusion.<sup>1</sup>

Our army shall then resume forthwith its march to the Court.

May the all-enkindling sun of the Caliphate and of its world dominion remain bright and luminous in its seat of good fortune and sway over the whole earth until the dissolution of the universe!

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1. This part of the sentence deserves recording:  
 ba ta'īd-i-ilahī wa i'tizād-i-iqbāl-i-bī-zuwāl-i-pādshāhī,  
 damār az rozgār-i-ān guroh-i-nakbat aṣār khwāhad āwurd;  
 wa ba taqdīrī ki az istimā'-i-ṭanṭana-i-'azīmat-i-'asākir-  
 i-fīrūzmand harāsān shuda, wa hazīmat rā ghanīmat shumurda,  
 rū'ī-i-idbār ba rāh-i firār āwurda bāshand.

Grotesque though, this ludicrous flattery of the defeated imperial forces, by Aurangzīb's own admission too little disciplined to stand to their posts once a rumor of withdrawal had got abroad, may appear now, we must assume that it was acceptable to the Emperor, and that its incongruity was not perceived by Aurangzīb. Read aloud, it would have sounded fine, and might have given some cheer to the "auspicious assembly."

LETTER 35

The time for recriminations has come; and as Aurangzīb is marching up to Kābul, he is told that he will be posted sūbahdār of the Deccan. Though it was indeed an honorable and onerous charge, and would provide him with the spring-board for his attempt on the crown, he quite rightly regarded it as a degradation in his public standing. That it was a turning-point in the history of the sub-continent need not have occurred to anyone; but Aurangzīb, never slow to seize an opportunity, began to think over the possibilities while he was still on his way - as we shall see.

The Emperor's first line of attack is to suggest that sufficient matériel was provided, but that Aurangzīb made incompetent use of it. The previous letters will show this to be nonsense. Aurangzīb scarcely troubles to reply.

The permission, amounting to an instruction, to take his father-in-law Shāh Nawāz Khān to the Deccan may perhaps have originated with Dārā, who might have imagined that noble indifferent to the Emperor, and hostile to himself; if so, he mistook his man. A more practical reason was Shāh Nawāz' fairly recent Deccan experience, as guardian of Murād Bakhsh and effective administrator of all four sūbas. Shāh Nawāz' loyalty was to the Emperor, not to his sons, and it is well known how faithfully he stood by it.

Conventional salutations, less effusive than usual.

Acknowledgement of an imperial letter delivered on 20 Sha'ban [1062]/Friday, 26 July, 1652 by the yasāwal Amīr Beg.

It was written by the pen which traces jewelled lines:  
 "It astounds Us, that after such preparations the fort was not taken." (bisyar 'ajab namūd ki ba chunīn saranjām qila' ba dast niyāmad)

Hail to the saintly protector! The real value (ḥaqīqat) of [those] preparations is explained in the model of viziers' last letter, sent by him from Qandahār to the Court, the asylum of the world, [which] will have been brought by now

to your Majesty's notice. After he shall have attained the felicity of kissing the noble carpet (ba'd az idrāk-i-sa'ādat-i-basātḡbos-i-ashraf) he will disclose to Your Majesty the particulars of various other matters. (khaṣūṣiyāt-i-dīgar)

This murīd calls God, the exalted and almighty, to witness that he has on every occasion, as required by his God-given sincerity and sense of decency, kept before his eyes the [duty of] advancing the interests of his preceptor and guide. He has striven always, to the limits of his power, to avoid [the least] falling-off.

Soon, the real facts will become apparent (God willing) to the heart of angelic penetration, the touchstone of truth and falsehood. (mi'yar-i-ḥaqq wa bāṭil)

A world-obeyed order has been issued: "We shall not give up Our designs upon Qandahār. (Mā az sar-i-Qandahār guzashtan nīstīm) We shall encompass its capture by any means We may. (ba ḥar ṭarīq ki dānīm) So soon as that murīd shall have waited upon Us, We shall despatch him to the Deccan. Should that murīd wish to take Shāh Nawāz Khān to the Deccan with him, let him ask him; and, if the Khān agrees, let him submit a [suitable] petition.

Hail to the qibla and ka'ba of the two worlds! It is beyond doubt (yaqīn ast) that dispositions (fikr) for the capture of Qandahār - nay, of the entire realm of Īrān- (balki tumām-i-mamālik-i-Īrān) will be made with the greatest ease, since your Majesty's lofty and world-dominating determination, and the settled direction of [Your Majesty's] exalted intentions have been, and are, turned [only] towards the greatest matters.

This murīd would have liked to stay here for as long as arrangements to sieze Qandahār remain on foot. With the favourable countenance of the Almighty, he would [then] have been able to seize the fort by some means or other (kām wa na kām) so soon as his arrangements were completed. Thus he would have made his achievement a means of acquiring even more (pesh wa pesh) of your Majesty's good will.

But anything which your Majesty's mind, resembling the sun, may now be pleased to decree is [the essence of] wisdom and the marrow of good management. This person of sincere disposition has no alternative (chāra nīst) but to obey the exalted command; and he recognises every kindness that may be shown him as an outpouring of super-abundant grace. (tafaẓẓul mīdānad)

He has conveyed the world-obeyed order to Shāh Nawāz Khān, who replies: "This slave will soon attain the honour of kissing the [imperial] threshold, and would accordingly recognise his own happiness in anything which might be agreeable to his Majesty."

Hail to the qibla of mortal men! The presence in those frontier territories (dar ān sarḥadd) of such excellent servants is essential to the conduct of the Empire's multi-farians affairs. The decision [to send Shāh Nawāz Khān] is eminently suitable. (ba ghāyat munāsib)

May the world-illuminating sun of the Caliphate continue to shine forth from the horizon of world dominion!



LETTER 36

The seeds of future bitterness are being well sown in a receptive soil; the Emperor is reducing Aurangzīb's income by Rs 17,00,000; he hints that his incapacity was the cause of the order of 12 July, 1652, for raising the siege; he inflames the wound by declaring that Dārā will command the next expedition, and is sure to be successful; and he indicates that Dārā is to receive further large and fertile jāgīrs in Gujarāt.

Aurangzīb's reply is dignified and honest. The results of the Emperor's command that the siege be raised are rehearsed at greater length; the Emperor's inconsistency is tactfully pointed out; and Aurangzīb reminds his father, with truth, that he had from the beginning offered to serve under Dārā, with some freedom of action to ravage the enemy's country. In the end, he expresses the hope that an interview will help to set things right.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

After conventional salutations, acknowledgement of "two royal mandates, (yarlīgh) brought by chelas and written after (sc., upon) this murīd's memorials", both delivered on Thursday evening 26 Sha'bān [1062]/1 August 1652.

A world-obeyed order was issued: The roll<sup>1</sup> of that murīd's jāgīr have been sent to the Khān, the pattern of felicity, who is to report upon it [to Us]. That murīd is to write a note<sup>2</sup> to his sons<sup>3</sup> in Multān, [telling them] to proceed to Lahore, that they may accompany him thence to the

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1. sc., daul-paṭṭa, a Hindī term; see note below.

2. mss chīzī - an informal note, not a nishān. N. reads khavarī, noting chīzī in S. and B.

3. ba farzandān-i-khwud. Is this to be taken literally? In 1652 Aurangzīb had but two sons, who presumably went with him to Qandahār; see note to Letter 20.

Deccan.

Hail to the gibla of necessities, and the ka'ba of desires! It will be plain to the mind of Your Majesty, resembling the sun, which is a mirror reflecting material truths, that this murīd, the principal object of whose aspirations is ever the gratification of the most sacred heart, considers at this juncture that any task with which he might be honoured by the Court of the Caliphate is [his own] felicity; he counts as the capital fund of perpetual prosperity his obedience to his orders. Without deceit a guile (*bī mudāhina wa iltibās*<sup>1</sup>) he labours to carry them out to the full extent of his capacity.

Meanwhile, the passage of years and the list<sup>2</sup> of the jagirs of the Deccan are things of which your Majesty is very well aware. (*nikū rosham ast*) God willing, they shall be explained to your Majesty very soon after his formal interview, in the heart-soothing words (*taqrīb-i-dil-pazīr*) of the vizier without peer.

[This murīd] is greatly astonished (*ba ghāyal mut'ajjib gasht*) at all this reduction of his salary, amounting to seventeen lakhs of rupees; and what might be the reason (*bā'is... ch khwāhad būd*) for taking away his rich (*sair ḥāsil*) jagirs in Multān and Bhakkar?<sup>4</sup>

1. The reading *iltimasī* is in all mss; but might not *iltibās* ("equivocation") be better?

2. reading *tafawut-i sal* with I.O., not *tafawul-i-hal* with B.M. (followed by N. and Ch.)

3. The word is *daul*, for which see *ḍaul*: Platts, 568, s.v. "Shape, form, fashion.... pattern, model, specimen"; and cf *ḍaul-paṭṭa*, "rent-roll of a farm".

4. Writing to his sister *Jahānārā*, acknowledging a letter from her of 25 *Sha'bān*/1 August, *Aurangzīb* expresses

Through solicitude for insignificant beings and tenderness towards murīds, the happy heart might have been inspired to honour this murīd with the government of a great province. Were that the case, the decision to promote his interests would have taken such a form, that this servant would have had [the means] of acquitting himself well of his duty to bring good government to these extensive frontier tracts which have fallen into disorder; (bar ham khwūrda) and thus he would not lose face either before his equals or before the time-servers of the Deccan.<sup>1</sup> In Your Majesty's eyes, too, he should not be made appear as remiss in his duty, and should be protected from carping reproach.

But if this promotion was not your Majesty's intention, the province of Baglāna alone, which he once held as āl-tamgha, will be sufficient.

Since the hands, devoted to the service of God, of the perfect and gracious guide, hold the reins of control over murīds; and since your Majesty's benevolence and generosity always exceed the deserts of his slaves; it is certain, that any thought of the heart of angelic penetration will be essence of wisdom, and [therefore] for the betterment of [this murīd's] present state and future prospects.

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4. (contd. from previous page)

himself a little more forcefully: "If it be the wish of the happy heart that I retire into obscurity (dar gosha ba sar burad) Baglāna alone would have been enough for me; I used hold it as āl-tamgha." He then continues in similar words to those of the next sentence. Nor does he omit his expression of surprise at the reduction in his salary: mut'ajjib ast, ki ayā sabab-i-īn hama kamī chi khwāhad būd? (I.O. 244A) The classical explanation of āl-tamgha is Jahāngīr's: Tūzūk, R. & B., I, 23.

1. This contemptuous phrase, henceforth translated as "rulers of the Deccan" is the term for the kings of Golconda and Bījāpūr.

. Hail to the saintly protector! It will be [known] to the most sacred heart, that when the recapture of Qandahār was first contemplated, this murīd had submitted, at the request of the council held to consider [plans for] taking the fort (ba'd-i-istifsār-i-kangāsh-i-tasakhkhir-i-īn qila') that the most appropriate commander would be Dādā Bhāī; and that [this] servant should fight loyally in his vanguard. But since it was predestined, that this idea should remain for the time being concealed behind the curtain of delay, it was not then implemented.

Now Dārā Shikoh has finally [nīz] been ordered to bring the business to a [successful] conclusion, and his most noble son (sc., Sulaimān Shikoh) has been awarded the distinction of the viceroyalty of Kābul. A most fortunate [decision] has been made.

May almighty God ordain that this most difficult puzzle may be solved<sup>1</sup> by the key of their [joint] efforts, as all the loyal supporters of the state desire.

After bearing such a burden of exertion in this campaign, this life-scattering murīd did not really expect (aṣlan andesha... ba khāṭirāsh rāh nadād) that he would be assigned to the Deccan, or anywhere else. Indeed [he wishes] to carry out his original suggestions, and he suffered to remain near Qandahār for some time so that by joining in [Dārā Shukoh's] enterprise he might apply himself to the reparation of his past [faults]. Perhaps, by divine grace,

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1. The text reads: iftitāh-ī-in 'uqdat-i-dushwār.....  
....khwāhad shud. I.O. has 'aqīdat for 'uqdat.



he might then so exert himself as to earn in the most acceptable manner the approbation of [Your Majesty's] most inward counsels.

It is the desire of the most sacred heart, that Dārā should be given prosperous cash jāgīrs in the province of Gujarāt commensurate with the importance of his [new] duties, as a substitute for the government of the province.<sup>1</sup>

[However, it is submitted that] there are imperial khāliṣa lands [there], and jāgīrdārs' maḥals, in quantity<sup>2</sup> sufficient to pay his salary [in cash].

However anything upon which the kingdom-adorning counsel may confer nobility by demanding it is the essence of good management.

A report that this murīd's khānazāds have been summoned from Multān to Lahore has been written down in the folded letter addressed to [his sister], (ba khidmat-i-nawāb-i-taqaddus) and should be laid before your Majesty.

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1. 'iwaz-i-subah-i-Gujarāt. I.O. omits 'iwaz. Ch. follows that reading, mangling the sense.

2. Dara was made ṣūbahdār of Gujarāt in 1649. He never governed in person; Bāqī Beg, later Bahādur Khān, acted on his behalf. His term was ended on 24 July 1652, and Murād Bakhsh succeeded him in March, 1654, after an eighteen months' interval of rule by Shāyista Khān. In expressing a preference that Dārā receive income from Gujarāt in cash, rather than hold jāgīrs there, Aurangzīb is probably hoping to circumscribe any local influence his brother might have acquired there.

It was written by the pen, tracing miracle-working lines:  
 "Had We known that [those present] could have captured Qandahār,  
 We would not have recalled the army."

Hail to the spiritual guide, the cherisher of murīds!  
 Already, this servant has explained what his own impressions  
 (of the reasons for final failure) were, and [his letter]  
 may have reached Your Majesty. First there was a command,  
 couched in the most imperative language, that the victorious  
 armies should retreat forthwith. This news spread; the scouts  
 withdrew [from their posts]; men lost interest in the siege,  
 and many abandoned [their positions] around the fort. For  
 this reason it was impossible to comply with the second  
 command, which permitted [the retreat] to be postponed for  
 one month. Of necessity, [therefore] the retreat took place  
 on the advice of the all-wise vizier, and with the consent  
 of most of the loyal well-wishers of the state.

Had the first royal letter contained the command  
 embodied in the second, (dar manshūr-i-awwal hukm-i-yarlīgh-  
 i-sānī mīrasad) the [results] of the labours being brought  
 to bear by life-scattering slaves against the fort on the  
 hill would have become apparent to the whole world in this  
 very month of Sha'ban.

It obtained the nobility of being written: "Let Rustam  
Khān Bahādur, Fīrūz Jang, be commanded to remain in Ghaznī  
 with the force already allotted [to him]; and let Qulīch Khān  
 be ordered to march to Chārīkār<sup>1</sup> with a small detachment  
 (lakhtī) of men".

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1. in the Kābul valley, some 40 miles north of the town.

Hail to the gibla and ka'ba of this murīd! God almighty willing, on the 29th of this month,<sup>1</sup> this murīd will reach Ghaznī with the victorious armies; and he will then act as directed by the exalted command. After a pause of two days, which will be essential to regroup the army, he will hasten by regular stages, together with the Arm of the Caliphate Sa'dullāh Khān, to obtain the honour of an interview, and, at an auspicious hour, the felicity of kissing the [imperial] threshold.

[This letter has no formal ending]

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1. Monday, 5 August, 1652. Assuming he set off on 10 Sha'bān/17 July, he has marched 220 miles in 19 days, and caught up with wazīr.

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LETTER 37

If Aurangzīb ever expected to enjoy good relations with Dārā, he shows in this letter that he has thrown his hopes to the winds. He hopes that the Emperor will be satisfied where he has "tested the untested"; and remarks, that the test will not be a fair comparison of Dārā's abilities with his own, unless Dārā is made to conduct the siege under the same disadvantages. All this is enveloped in a lengthy panegyric of the Emperor's quasi-divine attributes.

In abruptly demanding that he be left free to administer the four Deccan provinces as he thought best, Aurangzīb is stating terms which shew that he knows his own worth. Since Aurangzīb's departure from the Deccan, which he had governed since Shāh Jahān's treaties of 1636 with Bījāpur and Golconda, and the final distribution of the fragments of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom of Aḥmadnagar, the provinces had been under Khān-i-Daurān; Jai Singh, as acting sūbahdār; Islām Khān the former wazīr; Murād Bakḥsh; and finally Aurangzīb's maternal uncle Shāyista Khān. Changing policies had certainly retarded the consolidation of Mughul power and the renewal of agricultural prosperity; but it is curious to find Aurangzīb accusing his uncle (even by implication) of "extravagance and irresponsibility." If offence was taken, the pain had been assuaged by 1658.

In this letter we hear the last of Aurangzīb's extensive explanations of the reason for failure at Qandahār. Perhaps, in the coming interview with his father - the last he was ever to have - he made his point so clear that the matter was dropped.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

After formal salutations, acknowledgement of a letter written on Friday the 11th Amardād/2 August 1652 in response to one of Aurangzīb's, whose date is not given; it was delivered on 28 Sha'bān/4 August 1652.

These words, a treasure of divine inspiration, were written: From every man, some [useful] work is produced; but [it has been wisely said,] that one should not test [again] a man [already] tested. (Az har kas kārī miāyad, wa 'aqlan



gufta and ki āzmūda-rā nabāyad āzmūd)

Hail to the saintly protector, the guide of pure mind! The Almighty has been pleased to endow the most sacred person (zāt-i-muqaddas) of Your Majesty with the most perfect attributes. In power of intellect and abundance of experience, he has exalted Your Majesty over all men in the world<sup>1</sup> and [therefore the value of] the jewel of each man's capacity and disposition is quite apparent to Your Majesty's exalted eye. Anything, therefore, which may fall from [Your Majesty's] tongue, the interpreter of [all] truths, concerning murīds and slaves will, without doubt, be an exemplar of reality and will incorporate thousands of prudent counsels and wise directions. It is obvious to Your Majesty, that every man who has any share whatever of common sense (har ki-rā fī'l jumla az khirad bahra ast) strives to distinguish between his gain and his loss. How, then can this life-sacrificing one, reared by your Majesty, permit himself to be slack in performing his duty? He knows, that his good name, and his profit in this world and the next, depend upon his doing his duty well.

It will be [remembered] by the heart of angelic penetration, that on reaching Qandahār this murīd recollected the events of the previous siege; (suhbat-i-ān martaba) and, so far as his feeble understanding allowed, made [his opinion] known. He forthwith asked leave to advance; but, when the principal officers energetically asserted that an advance

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1. bar jahāniyān. I.O. omits bar.

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was not in our interest, this murīd was compelled to abandon his proposal.

At that juncture there were neither men nor materials enough to take the fort, and [had there been an attack] they would have been scattered here and there. (mungasim )

Therefore the siege of the fort, which was our main object, could not be efficiently prosecuted.

Secondly, when [this murīd's] proposal [that he advance] came to Your Majesty's notice, a peremptory order was issued, in accordance with the advice of the principal officers,<sup>1</sup> that this servant should not go out ahead, but should remain before Qandahār.

Therefore he did not stir; (bīrūn narafta) conforming too to the decision of the vizier, submission to which he well knows to be obligatory, in accordance with Your Majesty's [own] command. In co-operation with the model of viziers, he applied himself to the siege operations. He had exerted himself to the utmost; and he was hopeful, that in the month of Sha'bān he would capture the fort on the hill by any possible means. Had he been allowed time, he would have brought his labours to a successful conclusion; and he would [then] have been safe from blame and reproach. (t̤'an wa malāmat)

Unfortunately, various factors intervened to prevent the attainment of our object; (muqaddimāt-i-mukhill-i-

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1. bar ṭabaq-i-kangāsh-i-daulatkhwāhān. Aurangzīb seems to be referring to the men with the Emperor and his 50,000 reserve troops, not to the senior officers at Qandahār.

matlab rūī dahad) and our chance of success is gone.

What remedy has [this murīd] but to avow his own deficiencies? When other murīds attempt to undertake this task<sup>1</sup> with the same resources,<sup>2</sup> and obtain some success, [a criterion] will be provided for measuring the [real] extent of this murīd's [alleged] guilt. He hopes, that the secret desires of the most sacred heart may soon vouchsafe to display their splendour by testing the untested, and evaluating the results.<sup>3</sup>

It obtained the elegance of being written: "It would be most [acceptable], were that murīd able to improve the prosperity of the Deccan."<sup>4</sup>

Hail to the qibla and ka'ba of the two worlds! Before Your Majesty's brilliant mind [the fact] will stand revealed (makshuf khwahad bud) that in fostering the prosperity of great provinces, and in governing them well, this wholly-devoted one may not be equal to other murīds (sā'ir-i-murīdān). However, from the very first time he was honoured by the

1. shurū'dar īn muhimm namūda (B.M.) shurū'dar īn muqaddima namūda (I.O.). Shurū'dar chunīn muhimm namūda (N. and Ch.)

2. ba hamīn saranjām. N. reads chunīn.

3. A direct, and amply justified, hit al Dārā. Ummīd ki bar āzmāyish-i-nā āzmūdahā aṣarī-i-mutarattib (N. reads martab, noting the better reading in M and 'U) Ch. follows N.) gashta, 'anqarīb maknūn-i-khātir-i-muqaddas jalwa-i-zahūr dahad. Dārā had never commanded an expedition; nor had he any military training. In 1653, as well as failing to breach the walls of Qandahār, he gratuitously insulted several influential officers, and paved the road to his own ruin.

4. agar ān murīd wilāyat-i-Dakan-rā ham ābādī tawānad kard, bisyār ast. N. has supplied khūb after bisyār. Munāsib would perhaps better fit the Emperor's style. All the mss have the lacuna. Ch. follows them.

gracious grant of a jāgīr<sup>1</sup> he has never once failed in his devotion to the interests of the empire, nor in his management of its affairs.

When previously viceroy of the Deccan,<sup>2</sup> he remedied its desolate and distracted state so well (ki dar nihāyat-i-wairānī wa barham-khwurdagī būd, nau'ī ma'mūr sākhta) that the whole world knew of it; and perhaps news of the deterioration [in the state of the province] following his transfer might have reached Your Majesty's ears.

Even now, this murīd is hopeful that (by the mercy of God, glorified be His power) the province will remain in his hands with absolute authority, (az rūī-i-istiqlāl) and that his measures will not be interfered with. (wa saranjām-i-maṣāliḥ dar khwūr nashawand) God almighty willing, he will then restore to the peasantry [the prosperity] of which the extravagance of irresponsibility (dast andāz wa ghaflat) of [other] governors has deprived them; and soon the effects of his labours and efforts upon the entire province, [now] so far fallen from its ordered and flourishing state, will become apparent.

May the sun of the Sultanate and Caliphate continue to shine from its horizon of splendour and glory!

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1. In September, 1634, he was given the small pargana of Lokh-Bhavān, south-west of Achhabāl in the vale of Kashmīr. On 23 December, 1634 he was given his first maṇṣab, of 10000 zāt: Sarkār, Aurangzīb, I, 11, quoting Pādshahnāma. Sir Jādūnāth is wrong to say he was "not yet sixteen". He was sixteen years, one month, and twenty days old.

2. From 24 July 1636 to the beginning of June, 1644.



LETTER 38

This letter was written on, or immediately after, the 'Īdu'l-fitr of 1062 (5 September, 1652) Aurangzīb had been interviewed with his sons on 16 Ramāzan/21 August; the next day, he had had his formal audience of leave-taking (rukhsat) on appointment as subahdar of the Deccan, with the usual gifts, including two crores of dām (Rs. 500,000) in cash. On 25 August, he marched out of Kābul. ('Amal-i-Ṣālih, III, 153)

While waiting for the bridge of boats to be strung across the Indus, Aurangzīb no doubt made use of the opportunity to talk things over with his brother Shujā'. He would have gone through his grievances, recent and remote; and it was probably here that the foundations were laid for the understanding between Shujā' and Aurangzīb which Dārā tried in vain to break, and which endured until Shujā' proclaimed himself Emperor in October, 1657.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Brief conventional salutations.

This murid of sincere habit recognises the noble occasion of being in the luminous presence of his preceptor and guide to be the fund of all his felicity, both spiritual and temporal. Against this, no good fortune can be weighed. After having received instruction from Your Majesty himself, this murid has travelled as directed; and six marches from the Bāgh-i-Ṣafā,<sup>1</sup> he reached Peshāwar. At Nowshera, he

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1. The mss call this the Bāgh-i-Ṣafā. Muḥammad Ṣālih says that Aurangzīb marched from the Bāgh-i-Farāḥ Afzā. ('Amal-i-Ṣālih, III, 153). Neither of these names occurs among those mentioned by Jahāngīr in his account of his visit to Kābul in 1607 (Tūzuk, R. and B., I, 106, 111, 116, 121) In Kābul itself, only one Mughul garden remains intact: the one containing Bābur's grave, and a small white marble mosque erected by Shāh Jahān in 1649 to commemorate "fath-i-Balkh wa Badakhshān wa gurekht-i-Nazr Muḥammad Khān" Might Bāgh-i-Ṣafā have been a title given Bābur's tomb garden in Shāh Jahān's time? It also contained the graves of Mīrzā Hindāl (1519-1551) with a grave-stone provided by Jahāngīr, and of Hindāl's daughter Ruqayya (c.1542-1626) who had married Akbar but

passed the last day [of Ramaḡān]<sup>1</sup> and there he celebrated the happy day of 'Īd. He offered greetings and congratulations, [to Your Majesty], and caused the tongue of devotion to utter the customary felicitations. May God (honoured be His power) make this felicity-augmenting day happy and auspicious for [Your Majesty's] most sacred person! May He hold the benevolence and grace of the true preceptor and guide extended over the heads of murīds!

Hail to the saintly protector! In conformity with the exalted command, this murīd had wished to march [straight] from Peshāwar to the banks of the Indus in three stages, and to cross without delay. However, he has discovered that the current is still so strong, that the pontoon bridge has not yet been connected. (az shiddat-i-āb tā ḡāl pul mutarattib nagasht) Further, the Crown Prince of Mortals (sc. Shuja') is still encamped on this side of the river, and a large number of slaves of the Court, the refuge of creation, who have received leave, are [now] gathered there. There are so few boats, that all these people could not cross [together] with this servant's army, without long delays; (bī tā'khīr) and, since there is a dearth of fodder on the bank, a long encampment [there] is impossible.

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1. (contd. from previous page)

remained childless, and had been given the young Prince Khurram to bring up. Shāh Jahān had great affection for the memory of his great-aunt, and may have elected to camp in the spacious garden where she lay. His decision to build his victory mosque there appears to show a special regard for the place. The garden lies two miles north of the old city of Kābul, separated from it by the Sher Darwāza, which rises 1500 feet above the plain. The tombs of the great, or the merely saintly, are often linked with purity; in all the circumstances, the identification of this Bāgh-i-Ṣafā with Bābur's tomb garden seems inescapable.

1. Salkh ba Naushahra manzil kard. 'Īdu'l fiṭr fell on Thursday, 5 September, 1652. Chaudhurī makes an odd mistake in his note: "He halted at Nowshera on the last day of Sha'bān, and celebrated 'Īd there". That day Aurangzīb was to reach Ghaznī (Letter 36). Has Chaudhurī been misled by the older Aurangzīb's habit of suspending all but essential business, and in the Deccan of encamping, for Ramaḡān? Cf M.A. 79 (1669), 155 (1676), 236 (1683), 246 (1684) 392 (1698), 434 (1701).

It has therefore been decided, that [this murīd] should remain for several days in Nowshera and Angūrah.<sup>1</sup> Should the strength of the current abate in the meantime, and the pontoon bridge to connected, so much the better; otherwise, God almighty willing, this murīd will cross by boat, and will march by regular stages towards his destination.

May the world-warming sun of the Caliphate remain bright!

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1. Ch. has a Delphic note: Ākhura Khaṭṭak se murād hai. Neither Angūrah nor Akhūra appears in the Imperial Gazetteer. Might the name suggest the proximity, or the memory, of a vineyard?

LETTER 39

By 5 September, Aurangzīb was ready to cross the Indus; but the Indus was not ready for him; it was in spate, and the engineers could not connect a bridge of boats. The Indus is deep at Attock, and the Mughul practice of staking the boats to the bed of the stream would not prevail until the current, and the depth of the water, were more manageable.

Aurangzīb therefore remains encamped in the vicinity of Nowshera, and recommends one of the smiling valleys nearby as a fit encampment for his father.

The despatch of Aurangzīb's servant Muḥammad Tāhir to Burhānpūr, to prepare the administration of Khāndesh for his master's arrival, was a normal part of the routine of taghaiyur (transfer) of all officers.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a royal letter, delivered on Saturday morning, 3 Shawwāl [1062] /Saturday 7 September, 1652.

A world-obeyed mandate acquired the elegance of issue: "You should not cross by boat. Cross by the pontoon bridge, and set off from Nowshera as soon as you hear it is open" (hargāh khabr-i-bastan-i-pul barasad)

May a thousand precious lives be sacrificed (fidā'ī... bād) to your most sacred Majesty! In the press of public business, (dar jamī'-i-amūr) Your Majesty yet keeps in mind the welfare of murīds, vouchsafing to guide them, out of solicitude for such insignificant beings, towards their



own betterment.<sup>1</sup>

For these immeasurable favours how can [this murīd] return thanks? God almighty willing, he will set out from here, as commanded, the moment the bridge is connected; after crossing the river, he will march to his destination.

Hail to the true gibla and ka'ba! How can one describe the excellence of the air, the freshness of the vendure, and the abundance of fodder, in this delightful station? (īn sarmanzil-i-dilkushā) It is a place entirely agreeable; [indeed], it is doubtful (ma'lum nīst) whether even Peshawan could have been more pleasant than this during these [last] few days.

Were the order given, this murīd could march one cos<sup>2</sup> from Angūra, and select an encampment in the village (mauza') of Tarīn,<sup>3</sup> which has plenty of vegetables and fodder; and the lofty banners might vouchsafe their most glorious arrival to that district.

However, anything which occurs to the most sacred heart will be the essence of good policy.

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1. This outburst conceals Aurangzīb's irritation. But the Emperor was anxious to march; he crossed on the bridge of boats, carried in his takht-i-rawān, on 19 September. The bridge had finally been put together four or five days before: 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, III, 154.

2. For kroh, Nadwī has kardā!

3. A settlement of Afghans of the Tarīn tribe? N. notes Zīn in his B, and Harīn in S. I.O. seems clear enough: Tarīn. The Imperial Gazetteer is silent.

It was written by the pen, tracing jewelled lines:

"An exalted farmān has been issued to Shāyista Khān that, leaving Rao Karan<sup>1</sup> in the fort of Daulatābād, he should march with the utmost despatch to Gujarāt.<sup>2</sup> The sooner that murīd's men reach Daulatābād, the better."<sup>3</sup>

Hail to the saintly protector! Before he was dismissed [your Majesty's] refulgent presence, this murīd detailed a servant of his, Muḥammad Tahir,<sup>4</sup> to march quickly to Daulatābād with a body of men. But boats on the Attock side of the river are few, and the men of the Crown Prince of Mortals are crossing besides. [So Muḥammad Tāhir] has not been able to cross, and is still on this side; otherwise, he would have got a long way by now. A command has just been sent him to leave his baggage behind (ba aḥmāl wa aṣqāl muqaiyad nashuda) and cross unencumbered. (jarīda<sup>5</sup>) He is to hurry ahead with his advanced guard, so as to reach Burhānpūr by the end of Zī Qa'da<sup>6</sup>.

May the world-irradiating sun of the Caliphate remain bright!

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1. Rao Karan was the Rājā of Bikanīr. His further relations with Aurangzīb may be traced in Letters 63, 64, 80, and 82.

2. Where he had been appointed ṣūbahdār, vice the absentee Dārā.

3. More than three months later, when Aurangzīb was marching through the forests of Shivpūrī, Shāh Jahān urged him on in the same words (Letter 46).

4. This is the man whom Aurangzīb later enobled as Wazīr Khān, and who died in 1672 as Sūbahdār of Mālwa.

5. This word seems in later sources to have a more technical meaning - "with light kit".

6. sc., by the beginning of November. Aurangzīb himself was then to be still north of Delhi: Letter 43. The idiom is, shāyad tā awākhir-i-Zī-Qa'da ba Burhānpūr barasad; but Aurangzīb intends to convey no doubt.

LETTER 40

Though it nowhere says so, this letter refers to Aurangzib's preparations for crossing the Chenāb. He would have been following the shāh-rāh which led (and still leads) past Gujrāt, the city founded by Akbar.

From the 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ it appears that Shāh Jahān had crossed the Jhelum or Beas (Bihāt) on the salkh of Shawwāl, equivalent to Thursday, 3 October, 1652 (III, 154) As Aurangzib was marching ahead of him, the "Friday" on which he received his father's letter was probably 1 Zī Qa'da/ 4 October. The going was unusually heavy, the letter not apparently urgent, and Aurangzib was some forty miles ahead. The language of his own letter suggests that he was replying without delay; Aurangzib's description of the effects of the unusual rains is concise and striking. No wasted words, no conventional metaphors, encumber Aurangzib's best writing.

It is worth remembering Irvine's point, that the Mughuls did not use grappling-irons to fasten the boats to one another. (Army of the Indian Mughuls, 212) This would not only have prolonged the work, but made the engineers reluctant to throw a bridge across a strongly-flowing stream.

The confusion and discomfort at these crossings is indeed described to perfection by Bernier, (Constable's edition, 380) as Irvine recognises (op. cit., 211) I saw the very same chaos as Bernier describes at the crossing of the Gogra (Ghagra) at Ayodhya, in February 1961, when the river was low and the ground dry; have witnessed the collapse of an earthen ghāt on one of the arms of the Ganges opposite Rājmaḥal in March of the same year, which caused a ferry to founder; and was obliged to abandon a car stuck in mud at the approaches to the pontoon bridge over the Jumna near Okhla, after a pre-monsoon shower in May, 1964.

Chaudhuri, in his introductory note, says that Aurangzib "reports his arrival near the bridge on 1 Zī Qa'da, and his intention of crossing the Indus the next day". A perusal of letter 39 should have shown him the mistake.

Conventional salutations.

Acknowledgement of an imperial farmān delivered on Friday, early in the morning (no date given, but certainly 1 Zī Qa'da 1062/4 October, 1652) sent in answer to a letter of Aurangzib's (no date given).

Hail to the saintly protector! A written report from the son of Rājā Ṭoḍar Mal<sup>1</sup> has just revealed (ba tāzagī ba wazūh paiwast) that the pontoon bridge would be open in two days, and that the flood-stream (nāla) which was reported to have cut the road (miyān-i-rāh) was [now] fordable (pāyāb gashta).<sup>2</sup>

Therefore on 1 Zī Qa'da,<sup>3</sup> this servant marched off from his encampment; he expected (mikhwāst) to halt by the bridge [that day] and cross on the morrow.

But news came after he began his march, that by imperial command the bridge was [now] being connected at the Chākūkī

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1. The Ṭoḍar Mal referred to is not Akbar's famous minister (c. 1515-1589), but Rājā Ṭoḍar Mal Shāhjahānī. Like Sa'du'llāh Khān, he began as a servant of Āṣaf Khān the brother of Nūr Jahān, father of Shāh Jahān's best-beloved wife Mumtāz Maḥal, and wakīl of the empire until his death in 1641. This Ṭoḍar Mal was probably a Panjābī Khatṭrī, unlike his famous namesake, who originated in Āvadh.

From M.U. II, 286-287, his career is thus abstracted: On Āṣaf Khān's death he was taken into Imperial service, entitled Rā'ī, and made Faujdār of Sirhind. The next year he was transferred to the Lakhī Jungle, and seems to have held the faujdārī there till the end of the reign; such is the inference from the curious anecdote of Dārā, fleeing to Lahore in June 1658, "digging up twenty lakhs buried by him here and there" Sarkār has a version of this, without quoting authority: "Dārā reached Sirhind, where he seized the property of the revenue-collector and dug out 12 lakhs of Rupees which that officer had buried underground before his flight." (Aurangzīb, I, 442)

Todar Mal Shāhjahānī was promoted as follows:

15th year: robe, elephant, and horse for ābādkārī  
 16th year: 1000/1000  
 19th year: 1500/1200 2h 3h  
 20th year: 1500/1500 2h 3h  
 21st year: 2000/2000 2h 3h and title of Rājā  
 23rd year: a banner

Meanwhile his responsibilities had been gradually enlarged by adding Dipālpūr, Jullundur, and Sultānpūr, and his annual income from these territories was fifty lakhs.

The last notice of him is that "under Aurangzīb he was fa dār of Etāwah for a time", and that he died in Aurangzīb's ninth year/1076/March-July 1666. He must have been well over sixty.

His son must have been on detached duty, assisting the  
 (contd. next page)



crossing; that boats, and other equipment, were being brought there; and that it was nearly ready (muhaiya shudan-i-pul qarīb būd) [This murīd therefore] resolved to get to the place where the bridge was being constructed (God willing) and to cross there.

Hail to the qibla of the two worlds! The hardships of travelling in this district<sup>1</sup> are beyond description. Over one [stretch of] a quarter of a cos the mud and slime were so thick (gil wa lāy ba mushāba būd) that the elephants could get through only with the greatest difficulty; horses and camels, sinking further into the mire (pishtar dar waḥil mānda) could be freed only by using innumerable mechanical devices. (ba ṣad jarr wa ṣaḡīl) From that place to the flood-stream, the beasts (charwā) were down to their knees [in mud] If the rain holds off (āmān dahad) for two or three days more we might perhaps be able to negotiate this road easily enough.

May the screen of the sultanate remain affixed to the tent-posts of perpetuity!

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1. - 2. & 3. (contd. from previous page)

march of the returning mansabdārs and their contingents, and awaiting the arrival of the "banners of pomp and glory". The banks of the Chenāb are over 120 miles north-east of his father's extensive faujdārī.

2. The sentence begins az ānjā ki. Nadwī might have imagined that the report came from a place named Anjānka. He begins: az anjānka, but does not overline.

3. Friday, 4 October, 1652.

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1. sc. the Jech Doab between Jhelum and Wazīrābād.

LETTER 41

Marching along with the Emperor only a day or two behind him, Aurangzīb is honoured by some venison from the Emperor's hunt. Such gifts were of a public nature, like the food from the imperial kitchen which Akbar used distribute in Fathpūr Sīkrī to favoured nobles and visitors; or the fruit which Shāh Jahān used send out from his morning levée. The recipient could show the whole world that he still enjoyed the Imperial favour.

Perhaps anticipating criticism of his rate of march, Aurangzīb suggests that if conditions had been better he would have been over two hundred miles further along his way.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a royal letter delivered on the march, 3 hours (yak pās) after day-break on Monday<sup>1</sup> (date not given but almost certainly Monday 4 Zī Qa'da 1062/8 October 1652).

Further acknowledgement of "a gift of a deer killed on the royal hunt, and some fruit" (ahūī-i-shikār-i-khāṣa, wa mewa).

A sacred order was issued: "The pontoon bridge over the Chenāb is ready. Let that murīd cross the river on Monday."<sup>2</sup>

Hail to the saintly protector! This servant had already formed the intention to cross on Monday if the bridge were ready. Accordingly (ba hamīn dastūr) he has determined to go across, (qaṣd-i-ān murūr bakunad)<sup>3</sup> if only (ba mujarrad-i-ān ki)

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1. yak pas az roz-i-mubārak-i dū shamba. In I.O., az is misplaced, coming after roz. In N.'s 'U it has dropped out.

2. sc., Monday 4 Zī Qa'da/8 October 1652. See the introductory note to Letter 40.

3. Nadwi reads "qaṣd-i-imrūz", which makes less sense. He notes no variant. He may have been misled by the appearance of "anmurūr" written as one word without madda, as in I.O.

the bridge is complete and fit for use (muhaiya wa āmāda) and there is nothing to delay him he will cross the river and march onwards.

A copy of the letter which Mīr Khalīl<sup>1</sup> wrote to 'Umdatul Mulk Shāyista Khān was delivered with the royal farmān. [This murid] learned from it of the illness of 'Ādil Khān<sup>2</sup>.

Hail to the true preceptor and guide! This servant has not omitted (kotāhī nadārad) to hasten along every stage of his march. Had he not been held up (agar...mani'-i-qat'-i-musāfat namīgasht) by the delays that occurred on the other side of the [Indus at] Attock, (ān rūī Aṭak) and on this side of the Chenāb, he would by now have reached the vicinity of Shāhjahanābād, the abode of the Caliphate. Having crossed the Chenāb he shall (God willing) move as quickly as possible<sup>3</sup> and will reach the Deccan at the time prescribed (ba waqt-i-khwud-ra badān ḥudūd rasānida) By the divine grace, he will not fail to use the opportunity which has come to hand.

May the shade of the Caliphate and of its glory remain undiminished over the heads of men!

1. (contd. from previous page)

and (perhaps) in its derivative, Nadwī's S. B.M. clearly has qasd-i-imrūz (fo.25B, lines 15 and 16; but I.O.'s reading appears preferable.

1. For Mīr Khalīl, (c. 1605-1684) related by marriage to Shāh Jahān's sons, see Letter 53.

2. Having suffered a species of stroke in 1646, at the age of 42 or so, Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh remained an invalid until he died late in 1656.

3. ba qadar-i-maqdūr dar sur'at taqṣīr nanamūda. I.O. has an intrusive bar before taqṣīr. Ch. perhaps had it in his ms, for he replaces it with sair, a word repugnant to the sense, and never used in the context of a march: "perambulating, amusing oneself: ...excursion, trip, tour" Steingass, 715, S.V.

## LETTER 42

At first sight, one might imagine that Aurangzīb had successfully crossed the Chenāb, and was on the right bank of the Ravī a week later; but the road led to Lahore, and it does not seem possible that a disaster to a bridge of boats before the walls of that great city would have stranded Aurangzīb on the wrong side for five days. Chaudhurī is right to refer the letter to the crossing of the Chenāb.

Probably Aurangzīb despatched his letter on 4 October in full expectation of being able to cross the Chenāb the next day, and the bridge broke in the night. The disruption is vividly described. The Mīr-i-Bahr was especially charged with providing water transport; only in Bengal, however, was an imperial flotilla (nawwāra) maintained. Everywhere else, the boats had to be hired, or impressed, locally; with what results, this misfortune allows us to see. There appears to have been a total want of control over the boats and their owners, and no provision at all for an emergency which must have been even commoner in Mughul times than it is now.

Shāh Jahān's concern that his musicians should cross first after the disaster, and in as much comfort as possible, appears quaint, and would not have impressed Aurangzīb, whose deprecatory attitude to music is well-known (M.A.71; 526-527). Probably the Emperor wanted them and their instruments in good state to soothe him when he reached his palace at Lahore. The status of musicians at the Mughul court was ambiguous; they were richly rewarded, eagerly recruited, and even given manṣabs and titles; yet they enjoyed no real respect, nor have they ever, among the more serious and orthodox, whether Hindu or Muslim. There is no reason to doubt that Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh never forgave Dārā for saying that he looked like a musician, as Manucci relates; (Storia, I, 225; cf 246 & 285) and Manucci's anecdotes of Jahānārā's chief musician Dulerā braving Mahābat Khān in the streets of Shāhjahanābād (ibid, 218-9) and inviting his own ruin by his lordly demeanour to Murād Bakhsh's officers in Āgra in 1658 (ibid, 297-8) likewise ring true. Were further evidence needed, the inglorious reign and fall of Mu'izzu'd-dīn Jahāndār Shāh in 1712 would provide it.

This letter must have been written on Thursday evening, 11 October 1652, after some of the principal nobles had got across by boat, and while Aurangzīb was awaiting his turn the next day.

The comparative linguist John Beames has left a racy account of an emergency in August, 1859, when he was ordered to bridge the Chenāb at this very crossing at three days' notice. Seventy-five boats were required: *Memoirs of a Bengal Civilian*, 106-107.



To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Acknowledgement of a royal letter delivered by Brindāban<sup>1</sup> late on Tuesday (no date given, but certainly Tuesday 5 Zī Qa'da 1062 / 9 October, 1652.

A world-obeyed order obtained the splendour of disclosure: Let several boats be supplied for the court musicians (chand kishtī ba kalāwantān badahad)<sup>2</sup>. If it is not possible to finish the bridge [soon] that murīd should cross by boat. There are plenty there. Afterwards, the principal rājas ('umda-i-rājahān-i 'ālā tabār), and the others still on the far side, should cross.

Hail to the saintly protector! The musicians crossed on the happy day of Monday,<sup>3</sup> and have gone on their way (rawāna shudand). In the middle of Monday night (niṣf-i-shab-i-hamīn roz) the bridge broke. The men [supplied by the zamīndārs who furnished the boats] made a great commotion, disconnected the boats, and decamped (mardum hujūm-i-'āmm namūdah kishtīhārā parāgandah sākhtah barawand).

Three hours after day-break [on Tuesday] this murīd arrived. Since the boats [which made up the bridge] were dispersed and there was nothing to make another bridge with, (maṣāliḥ-i-pul maujūd nabūd) there was no choice but to cross by boat. The leading rājas, Mahābat Khān and a number of other slaves [went first, and] have been crossing during the past two days (dar īn dū roz 'ubūr kardand). The next day [Friday]<sup>4</sup> this murīd will cross. After a day's halt, he will march (God willing) by regular stages to his destination.

The copy of the news-letter from Bījāpūr, which Saiyid 'Alī sent by imperial command, has come. Its contents are

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1. The first Hindū mentioned in these letters as carrying correspondence to Aurangzīb. It may be that more Muslims were thus employed, out of consideration for Aurangzīb's presumed feelings; but it is not readily provable. Āṣaf Khan sent a Hindū messenger to Shāh Jahān in October 1627, to tell him of Jahāngīr's death; this Banārsī ran from Lahore to Juner, 50 miles south-west of Burhānpūr, in twenty days. The distance was roughly 770 miles.

2. Specifically, kalāwants accompany on their instruments women who dance and sing.

3. 4 Zī Qa'da 1062 / 8 October 1652.

4. Friday, 8 Zī Qa'da 1062 / 12 October 1652.

noted. It is remarkable, how ungrateful is that trifler with the truth (haqq nā-shinās) ['Ādil Shāh] for the favours he has received; and how he fails to acknowledge the value of Your Majesty's condescension and consideration towards him, which so much exceeds his capacity to recognise it (bar ḥaṣila-i-ū). God willing, he shall soon receive due recompense for his conduct; (jazā'i-ān) [but] this devoted murīd will handle him and Qutbu'l Mulk as he may be directed.

May the world-warming sun of the Caliphate continue to shine over the heads of murīds until the time of dissolution, and until the dissolution of time! (ta inqirāz-i-zamān wa zamān-i-inqirāz)<sup>1</sup>

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1. A delightful final flourish of munshīyāna!

LETTER 43

A month has passed since the last letter was written, and Aurangzib is south of Lahore; perhaps in the vicinity of Ludhiāna, though he does not say so. His establishment has come across from Multān to meet him.

Shāh Jahān rebukes him for slow marching. If he is referring to the hard slog of September and October, it is almost unbelievable; the Emperor was suffering from the same conditions as his train lumbered along behind Aurangzib and the principal generals. Did Aurangzib perhaps delay too long in or around Lahore? He might have imagined that a further interview would be accorded him, a chance that the Emperor's attitude towards him might be mollified.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Acknowledgement of a royal letter (manshūr) delivered by Fathu'llāh on Tuesday, 9th [no month given, but clearly Zī Hījja 1062, giving Tuesday, 12 November, 1652] on the march, after Aurangzib had passed [a mud fort of the kind called] Tilaundī.<sup>1</sup>

God willing, this murīd will deal with the worldly men of the Deccan<sup>2</sup> exactly as he has been commanded. For his own part he will not fail to show them every courtesy.

It was written by the pen, tracing jewelled lines: "Much procrastination (tawaqquf) has been shown by that murīd in his journey. Let him now travel along the road by which he will arrive soonest."<sup>3</sup>

Hail to the saintly protector! Since this murīd has always kept pace with the victorious army<sup>4</sup> the reason for any

1. This is a general term in the Panjāb for a mud fort (on the oral authority of Dr Riṣvī) N. has malaundī.

2. Duniyadarān-i-Dakan is the somewhat contemptuous term preferred in this correspondence for the kings of Golconda and Bijapur. Very occasionally, the word hākīm is used of the Golconda King.

3. Aknūn az har rāhī ki zūdtar rasīd khwud-rā barasānad. I.O. duplicates aknūn, importing a harsh and colloquial emphasis which may well have been intended.

4. For barābar-i-lashkar, & c, I.O. has bar aṣār-i-lashkar, a lectio peior.

delay will be clearly [reflected] in the mirror of the heart of angelic penetration. Although the road through Ghāt-i-Chānda<sup>1</sup> is a few stages shorter, and this servant had no real intention of delay (wishing rather to reach the Deccan with the greatest dispatch) he has [now] been joined by his whole establishment from Multān.<sup>2</sup> There are many bullock-wagons and carts<sup>3</sup> with them, and the whole baggage-train (īn hamīn aḥmāl wa ṣaqāl) cannot travel more than four or five cos a day. [Furthermore], on this unfrequented road (dar chunīn rāh-i-nā maslūk)<sup>4</sup> it appears unwise<sup>5</sup> to allow men to fall behind [to increase the speed of the main body]. This murīd has resolved to go by Ludhiāna and Sunām,<sup>6</sup> and to join the high road near Shāhjahānābād (the abode of the Caliphate). From there, he will travel by stages long enough to be able to reach Burhānpūr within a month; since it will not matter, if some men remain behind with surplus baggage on the imperial highway.

May the world-warming sun of the Caliphate continue to shine upon the heads of men until the end of time!

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1. For Ghāt-i-Chānda (in the mss spelt Ghātī Chānda) the pass which separated the sūbas of Ajmīr and Mālwa, see Jahāngīr, Tūzuk (R.&B.) I, 348 and II, 57.

2. It would have been more usual for Aurangzīb to have been allowed to pass through Multān and supervise in person the packing of his effects and the setting-out of his women and children. That leave was not granted shows the depth of the Emperor's displeasure.

3. Bahal wa 'arāba; N. has araba. The Hindi word bahlī, two-wheeled bullock cart, is intended (Platts, 191, s.v.; but cf bahal, 190); cf also Jahāngīr, Tūzuk (R.&B.) I, 340.

4. Ch. has emended his ms' reading rāh-i-nā-mulūk.

5. Munāsib namīdānad; but I.O. has munāsib nīst.

6. See footnote on next page.



6. This passage presents a slight difficulty. Aurangzīb's words are: q̄rār dādah ki az Sunām wa Ludhāna shuda; B.M. reading Lūdhāna, and I.O. Ludhāna. The crescent-shaped line from the Sutlej through Bhaṭinda, Sunām, Maler Kotla, and Ludhiāna, and so back to the Sutlej again, represents the extent of the famous and robber-infested Lakhī Jungle, where tigers roamed until the land was cleared in the nineteenth century. Sunām is some sixty miles south of Ludhiana, however, and Aurangzīb must have marched from Ludhiāna to it, not the other way, as the text might at first sight suggest. The imperial highway ("rāh-i-rāst", not here qualified as "pādshāhī") ran somewhat to the east, through Sirhind; Aurangzīb took that road when marching from Multān to an audience with his father at Shāhjahānābād early in 1651. (Letters 4 & 5, for his march to Court; Letters 6 & 7, for his return to Multān by the same roundabout route).

But now, he was being pressed to save time; cutting across the fringes of the Lakhī Jungle, he would have been concerned for his unwarlike domestic servants and his considerable baggage, which he may have felt unsufficiently guarded against an onset of robbers by the escort he had with him. His establishment would have been swollen by the need to provide for his six children, then aged between fourteen years and fifteen months. For a note on the Lakhī Jungle at the beginning of this century, see Storia do Mogor, III, p.426 (note to vol. I p. 320, where Manucci recounts Aurangzīb's unexpected meeting with Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh in this tract in 1659). During this period, the faujdār was Rāja Toḍar Mal Shāhjahānī, who had held the post since 1641-42 (see note to Letter 40).

Chaudhurī has seen the difficulty, and writes: "On the way to Delhi, Ludhiāna must be passed before Sunām. Budhāna comes after [Sunām], and therefore the name [Ludhiāna] should be corrected to Budhāna." I do not agree with Chaudhurī's emendation. I think Aurangzīb intended to mention Ludhiāna, a station on the imperial highway, as the point where he forked off onto the "unfrequented road" south through Sunām. He does not say "from Sunām to Ludhiāna" as Chaudhurī seems to think; merely "by way of Sunām and Ludhiāna", which is an inversion of logical order, but not a perversion of geographical fact. The Budhāna of Chaudhuri is Buṭāna, 18 m. N of Rohtak which Aurangzib may perhaps have passed, but need not have.

LETTER 44

This letter was written at Akbarpūr on 2 December, 1652. The place may perhaps be identified with Chhāta about eighteen miles north-west of Mathurā on the main road. A large fortified Mughul sarāy, faced with red stone and decorated with white marble, still stands there in good preservation.

Aurangzīb's description of his visit to Shāhjahānābād is of the highest interest, and it seems that he might have taken real pleasure in observing and describing the progress made in the embellishment of the palace since his last visit nearly two years before. The Emperor being absent, he would not have been admitted without the imperial warrant which he had (cf M.A. 383).

Although Shāh Jahān had formally entered his new palace in April, 1648, his passion for architecture would not allow him to remain satisfied with it. The catalogue of changes Aurangzīb gives is annotated step by step.

Aurangzīb spent a day and a half with his sister Jahānārā, whom he was not to see again until 1666. He would have attempted to enlist her sympathy, and perhaps her active assistance, in representing his interests against Dārā. Sympathy he might have been given, but no more. Jahānārā remained a loyal supporter of her father, and of Dara.

The letter begins as translated, without a lengthy formal introduction.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

After performing the duties of a murīd, this insignificant one informs Your Majesty, that on 23 Ẓī Hijja<sup>1</sup> he reached the Abode of the Caliphate, Shāhjahānābād, in three marches from Pānipat. He alighted in the garden of Fāzil Khān,<sup>2</sup> which is outside the fort walls. Until the close of day, he remained in the garden of Agharābād;

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1. Tuesday, 26 November 1652.

2. 'Alāu'l Mulk Fāzil Khān Tūnī (c.1594-1663), Mīr Sāmān to Shāh Jahān. See note to Letter 74.

(Agharābād-i-faiẓ bunyād)<sup>1</sup> in the evening, he went to his own mansion.

The beauties of that most excellent building are more than one can describe. The structures recently commissioned are now complete, and there remains only the gilding of the roofs of the three pavilions erected on the [other] sides of the tank. [The tank itself] has just been finished, and a large number of fish has been released in it. One pavilion, and two apartments, (ḥujra)<sup>2</sup> which have been ordered built on the site of the summer-house (bangla)<sup>3</sup> are complete, and are very fine.

The stone-carving of the structure of the Four Cascades ('imārat-i-chahār ābshār) is not finished [however] and work on the stone basin for the pond in the middle of the garden is continuing (dar ḥujra-i-sangīn-i-hauẓ-i-miẓān-i-bāgh kārī hast).

The new servants' quarters are being plastered, (safedkārī mīkunand) and Qāẓī Nizāmā<sup>4</sup> says, that in three weeks all the buildings there will be quite finished.

1. This is identified with the garden of Shālimār by Irvine (Storia, II, 24n.) This garden lay to the north-east of Shāhjahānābād, but was in ruins by the late eighteenth century. A marginal note in B.M. (fo.26B) reads: ta'rīf-i-bāgh-i Shālamār wa qila'-i-mubārak wa taḥrīr-i-dāru'l khilāfa. The garden of Agharābād was one of the two Imperial gardens to which the growing of roses was limited by Aurangzīb as Emperor, in November, 1677; Ma'āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī, (text) 162. The order was given to Muḥammad Ṣafī, the Ṣafī Khān of these letters (see e.g. Letters 55, 58, infra) who was then serving as Bakhshīu'l Mulk. Ch. calls the garden Bāgh-i-'Izzābād. No such is known to history.

2. For ḥujra, N. reads maḥjar. Ḥujra is the mss reading, followed by Ch. The name is common; cf. the well-known Ḥujra-i-Anup Talā'o of Fathpūr Sīkrī.

3. This word, meaning "a structure in Bengali style" has always meant a single-storeyed structure, with a roof of thatch. Shāh Jahān introduced stone curved roofs in imitation of the appearance of a Bengali hut. This might have been such a building. From bangla comes the English bungalow.

4. All the mss. have Nizāmā. This form, though apparently barbarous, is common in the Panjāb down to Delhi and beyond. It has a familiar, diminutive effect; as with Ḥabībā, Sherā, and even a substantive, such as dostā, yārā. Nizāmā was almost certainly no Qāẓī, but a journeyman who had risen to be foreman. He might have been a chūnapaz like Bahāu'd-dīn of Fathpūr-Sīkrī, (Rizvī & Flynn, Fathpūr-Sīkrī, 126). The factitious use of such titles as Khwāja, Khalīfa, Pīr, etc., among Indian Muslim artisans is well known.



The next day, the 24th, was a Wednesday;<sup>1</sup> and [this murīd] entered the fort, according to the imperial order, to visit his respected sisters (ba dīdan-i-hamshīrhāī-i-muthārama)<sup>2</sup>. Next, guided by your Majesty's household servants, he was gratified by a tour of the auspicious royal palace, which is unsurpassed by any building in the world. He walked about (sair namūd) until midday; the more he saw in those delightful buildings, the stronger grew his wish to sate his senses with the sight; (shauq-i-tamāsha afzūntar mīshud); for his mind [alone] could not take it all in.

#### Verse

Wherever I look, from floor to ceiling  
Its magic plucks at the skirt of my heart, [saying]:  
"This is the place".<sup>3</sup>

The pillars supporting the most sacred balcony for private and public appearances (pāya-i sitūn-i jharoka-i-khāṣṣ wa 'āmm-i-muqaddas)<sup>4</sup> have been admirably executed.

1. Wednesday, 27 November, 1652.

2. By using the word hamshīra, Aurangzīb excludes the daughter of Shāh Jahān by another wife, Parhez Bānū or Purhunar Bānū (1611-1675). Aurangzīb's three full sisters were Jahānārā (1614-1681), Roshanārā (1617-1671), & Gauharārā (1631-1706). It was the birth of the last that killed her mother, Arjumand Bānū Mumtāz Maḥal. Her death was a great grief to her aged brother (M.A., 512-3) who had not seen her for five and twenty years.

3. 'z pāy tā ba sarash mīnigaram, karishma dāman-i-dil mīkashad, ki "jāīnjā ast" I.O. omits tā. Aurangzīb might have extemporised these lines himself, echoing Sa'du'llāh Khān's famous verse on the north and south walls of the Dīwān-i-Khāṣṣ. Karishma is of course the Greek charisma.

4. This jharoka can only be that in the Dīwān-i-'Āmm, upon which the Peacock Throne used to be set up. The inlay work is indeed of surpassing richness; and the slightly bulbous form of the base of the columns, tapering towards the top, was then a novelty. Much of the ornamental inlay work was stolen by one Jones in 1857 (Fergusson, Indian and Eastern Architecture, 593 n.) and two of the panels are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.



The Rang Maḥal,<sup>1</sup> whose name fits its nature, has been faced throughout with marble; its roof, which had been vaulted (ki ba gumbaz būd), has had a flat ceiling installed, carved and fitted with mirror-work, as commanded. It looks most elegant.

The eight-sided bastion<sup>2</sup> of the private apartments (Khaskhāna) has also been completed according to orders, apart from a little of the inlay work (pāra-i-kār-i-ḥakkākī dar ān mānda). It is very handsome, and in excellent taste.

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1. The Rang Maḥal long served after 1857 as an officers' mess, and is now a dingy museum. The marble facing has been sloshed with whitewash, and its ceiling (shaqaf .... naqqāshī karda-i-pardahāi-i-āyina-kārī) has been obliterated. A cheap and nasty specimen of the same work, installed to replace the depredations of the eighteenth century, may be seen in the Dīwān-i-Khāṣṣ. The first to lay hands on the palace was Aurangzīb's own eldest grandson, the boozy and bumbling Jahāndār Shāh (1660-1713). After an honourable life of fifty years, and a military and civil career not devoid of distinction, he "proved himself utterly unfitted to rule" (Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, I, 241).

Shāh Jahān's later palace buildings seem to have flat wooden ceilings, suspended doubtless from battens fixed in the vaults above. These would have been much more costly than a vault decorated in cut and polished plaster, a construction which the architecture of the building required. The replacement of work finished only a few years before, and not likely to have been of any but the very first quality, was a manifestation of that increasing desire for magnificence which marked Shāh Jahān's later years, and which it would be quite appropriate to call vulgar.

2. This cannot be the bastion overlooking the Jumra, which is later mentioned as the Royal Bastion (Shāh Burj) a name it still bears. It was probably not an external bastion. Might it have been connected with the demolished ḥaramsarā, of which the Rang Maḥal and the inaccessible Mumtāz Maḥal are the only survivors? There was also a pentagonal projection at the south-eastern corner of the Dīwān-i-Khāṣṣ. The term khaskhāna might properly be translated "summer-house", as it means a structure of the aromatic grass called khas, and is still used of the cage-like constructions placed around outer doors, or the screens hung over verandahs, of buildings in Upper India during the hot weather to reduce the heat through the evaporation of the water sluiced over them. But it is clear that a permanent building is intended here; a small erection for delight, and perhaps amorous dalliance too.

The private audience chamber (ghuslkhāna-i-sultānat) has been finished with the most exquisite detail,<sup>1</sup> and the floor of the private bath-chamber (ḥammām-i-khāṣa) too, has been finished similarly, in conformity with the commands given.<sup>2</sup>

The marble channel cut in herring-bone pattern, (nahr-i-marghūla-dār-i-sang-i-marmar) with the two newly constructed

1. Bas ba taklif karda. N. has karan.

2. It is well known that the room in which the Emperor held his most confidential audiences was not his actual bathroom, though early in his reign Akbar had held private discussions in his own ḥammām. The development of the meaning of ghuslkhāna may be compared with that of the levée in Europe; originally the attendance of Louis XIV's courtiers around his bed as he rose from it, and discharged the burden of nature, it has been universally used since the eighteenth century to mean the first audience of the day. The ghuslkhāna survives; so too does the private bath-chamber. Its inlaid floor, sadly scoured and scratched by the shuffling feet of visitors, has a beautiful single-tendrill pattern of endless circular loops, and there is an inlaid dado on the walls, of stylised flowers in rectangular frames, which recalls the carved outer dado of the Tāj Maḥal. That of the ghuslkhāna, unfortunately, is worn out.

There is a difficulty with the text, which reads: ghuslkhāna-i-sultānat-i-kāshāna-rā ... It would seem simpler to drop kāshāna, but the mss have it quite clearly. It is possible that the bath was regarded as a "winter bath" for the cold weather, but this distinction would not apply to the ghuslkhāna. N. notes kāshāna-i-sultānat in his B and 'U. This gives a clue; the words should perhaps be ghuslkhāna, kāshāna-i-sultānat-rā, bar chīnkārī bas ba taklif karda ...ba shān namūda. This would give "the ghuslkhāna, the private pavilion of the sultanate..."

I reject Ch.'s emendation of the clear chīnkārī of the mss to parchīn kārī, "crooked work". His own ms apparently reads harchīnkārī, a variant not noticed by N. in any of his mss. Ch. has an unhelpful note announcing his emendation, but not explaining it. To my mind, the text should stand. "The picture-gallery of China", "the sculptors of China" are hackneyed phrases for any work remarkably fine, or in a new style. Jahāngīr uses it in his memoirs; and its use in Akbar's Khwābgāh, and the house of his mother Ḥamīda Bānū Begam at Fathpūr Sīkrī, should be remembered. In the Khwābgāh, this verse appears: rashk-i-firdaus-i-barīn ast, wa nigāristān-i Chīn;

manzil-i-'alā ast; dā'im dar nazr-i-manzūr bād. (Rizvi & Flynn, 30, 136, 145)

For Chīn in a more general sense, see Sādiq Muttalibī's verse on Sirhind quoted in the introduction.

tanks on the river side in the Ḥayāt Bakhsh garden, are quite a novelty.<sup>1</sup>

Work on the two tanks supplying [water] to the cascade (ābshār) of the Shāh Burj, which are made of Qandahār stone, and on the herring-bone channel [leading to] the tank in the middle of the bastion, has been completed in a remarkably fine style.<sup>2</sup>

In the Ḥayāt Bakhsh (Life-giving) garden, a visit to which indeed revivifies the tree of one's life (ki alḥaqq tafarruj-i-ān nihāl-i-zindagānī-rā tāza misazad), the yellow roses (gul-i-za'frān) were in splendid bloom; and the Aramgah garden,<sup>3</sup> the courtyard of grace, is [also] very pleasant.

Nawāb Begam Ṣāhib Jiu's house has been completed in conformity with the imperial directions. In the private apartments (Khaskhāna) which have been raised where the Dīwān Khāna stood, some work remains to be done; but it will soon be finished.<sup>4</sup>

1. The Ḥayāt Bakhsh garden still exists, and so do two small marble tanks on the eastern side. Their novelty (khailī tāzagī) probably consisted in the pattern carved on the screen down which the water flowed (chaddar). The earlier screens had been cut in a leaf-pattern (māhīpusht), which gave a beautiful rippling effect to the water. The earliest example I know of is in the Zanāna Bāgh at Fathpūr Sīkrī (c.1571).

2. The Shāh Burj is the bastion overlooking the Jumna, occasionally called Muṣamman Burj, from which the Emperor used to show himself to his subjects. In its central bay is the quaintly minute jharoka of Akbar II, erected in 1807-8. Behind it, facing inwards, is a small garden which separated the Haram Sarā from the Dīwān-i-Khāṣṣ; and between this garden and the bastion is a panj-darī pavilion, the central arch wider than the others, and with a curved Bengali roof over it.

3. Long since destroyed, probably before 1857.

4. Jahānārā, alone of the Emperor's family, lived outside the fort in recognition of her almsot queenly status. (cf Manucci, I, 220; II, 34) Her house stood in the area cleared after 1857 between the Chāndnī Chāuk and the city wall, where the Queen's Gardens were laid out, and the Delhi railway station raised, later in the century. Aurangzīb does not mention the splendid sarāy she raised to the west of her palace, which excited Bernier's admiration as well as Manucci's: Bernier (Constable) 280-81 and Manucci, I, 221. Perhaps it had not been begun in 1652. When Aurangzīb took Jahānārā back to the capital from Āgra fort after their father died in 1666, she returned to this house, and died there in September, 1681.



In [attempting to] appreciate and describe all these repose-increasing structures (īn 'imārat-i-rahāt-afzā) and heart-delighting gardens, the tongue of discourse is struck dumb (zabān-i-maqāl... ..lāl ast).

May the Almighty grant, that these incomparable dwellings will soon acquire fresh and ever-flourishing brilliance through the refulgence of [Your Majesty's] fortunate and noble arrival [among them]!<sup>1</sup> May He vouchsafe, that Your Majesty will live [there] for many years more in perfect security and every kind of ease and comfort, promoting the elegance of the world.<sup>2</sup>

On Thursday [24th], [this murīd] took his eldest sister to his own mansion; on Friday 25th,<sup>3</sup> he took his leave of her (az īshān widā' shuda) and set off [southwards]. On the way, he came to the mosque and sarāy which are being completed<sup>4</sup> under the supervision of the agents (ba ihtimām-i-gumāshtahāī) of the Khān, the pattern of felicity.

The chambers (hujrahāī) of the sarāy are very neatly finished (dar ghāyat pākīzagī tumām karda and) [but] the doors have yet to be done. In the mosque, the colonnades on

1. Ba farr-i-qadūm-i-sa 'ādat lazūm-i-ashraf. (sharf in I.O.) Aurangzīb will have remembered Abū'l Faḡl's famous dictum that kingship is a light emanating from God (farr-i-īzidī) communicated directly by God without human intervention (Ā'īn (Blochmann) I. iii. Nor would Aurangzīb the theologian have been ignorant that this notion of divinely conferred kingship was directly traceable to Zoroastrian teaching, and Sassanian practice.

2. Such expressions are henceforth heard regularly; with what sincerity they were uttered one may guess, but cannot know.

3. So says the text: juma' bist o panjum. But the tables make 25 Zī Hījja 1062 a Thursday; 28 November 1652. Chaudhurī in his note to Letter 45, has Aurangzīb farewelling Jahānārā on a Monday.

4. Ki taiyār mishawad. B.M. has taiyar!



either side of the prayer chamber<sup>1</sup> have been well constructed, and are most convenient. In two months, they will be complete.<sup>2</sup>

After inspecting the mosque, [this murīd] came to the garden of Nawāb Begam Ṣāhib Jiu, and spent a little time strolling about that charming place (zamānī sa'ir-i-an nuzhatgāh namūd). The two pavilions which face each other have had vaulted arches added, in obedience to the exalted order, and look very well.<sup>3</sup> The channel [supplying water] to the chauk and to the [public] bath in front of the garden have also been most beautifully built.<sup>4</sup>

Marching on, [this murīd] encamped at Farīdābād [on the 26th]; the next day [Sunday 27th] at Palwal; and then [Monday 28th] at Hoḍal. Today, which is the 29th, he has halted at Akbarpūr. God willing, he will reach Akbarābād<sup>5</sup> on Thursday, the third of Muḥarram the most illustrious.<sup>6</sup>

1. Aiwān-i-aṭrāf-i-gumbaz. Here gumbaz means the space covered by the 3 gumbazhā, the domes themselves; so the aiwāns are not the little pavilions at each cardinal point, at the base of the domes, but the spaces covered by the domes.

2. There seems little doubt that this is a description of Sa'du'llāh Khān's Chauk, which stood between the Faiḻ Bāzār and the southern wall of the Fort. It has vanished, together with the buildings that separated it from the Jāmi' Masjid to the north-west. That the mosque was being built under the supervision of the Khān's own men, and not the Emperor's shows that it was not an imperial foundation, which the Jāmi' Masjid was. The distance from Jahānārā's palace would have been a little over a mile.

3. Here B.M. has a very curious mistake: for bisyār khwushnumā shuda, the scribe has bisyār khwushnumā tha. Was he thinking of the Hindī past definite? Ch. omits shud (missing in his ms, no doubt) and begins the next sentence with ta. N. follows the better text with shuda.

4. This garden must have been outside the Delhi gate (so called because it faced the older cities of Delhi).

5. Āgra was so named by Shāh Jahān early in 1629. The new name is still occasionally heard.

6. The tables make 3 Muḥarram a Wednesday. Was a day intercalated at the beginning of Zī Hijja, making it a month of 30 days in 1062?

[The astrologers] indicate no nearer or fitter day for the ceremonial entry into Burhānpūr than the first of Rabi'I<sup>1</sup>. [This murīd] has therefore decided, that after two or three days' necessary halt in Akbarābād, he will resume his march. Until he reaches the frontier of the Deccan,<sup>2</sup> he will move quickly; thereafter, having crossed the Nerbudda, he will [tarry] for a few days on the outskirts of Burhānpūr awaiting the arrival of the appointed hour.

May the sheltering shade of the Caliphate and of world dominion continue forever to protect us!

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1.1 Rabi'I, 1063, fell on Thursday, 30 January, 1653.

2. sc., the Nerbudda at the river-crossing also called Akbarpūr, in the vicinity of Hoshangābād.

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## LETTER 45

The "Tāj Maḥal" has captured popular imagination as has no other Eastern building, and this remarkable letter gives interesting and unexpected details of the history of its construction.

The Rauza-i-Munawwara (so Aurangzīb styles it, following official usage) was clearly complete externally by 1652, and most of the internal decoration must have been finished, or else Aurangzīb would have commented upon its progress. He had last been there in 1644. But a staff of masons was in attendance, perhaps to complete enclosure walls and the outer courtyard as well as to maintain the building.

Leakage of water through the outside layer of cement to the vaults forming the ceilings of the chambers below can only have been caused by the use of improper materials, for the technique of cement-covering domes and flat or sloping roofs had been practised and refined in India since the first Muslim buildings at Ajmer and Delhi. It is surprising to find such a failure, in a building constructed under such supervision, and raised without thought of expense.

In Agra, Aurangzīb had a last conversation with Shujā', and no doubt sealed the agreements<sup>made</sup> in Kābul, and on the march. The principal crossing for east-bound travellers was at Āgra; hence Shujā's choice of that route.

The houses which Aurangzīb mentions in the new and old capitals were prime examples of the luxurious structures the principal nobles were obliged to raise, and the princes had raised for them. Just as in camp each manṣabdār had his place assigned him, so in the capital the nobles were directed to build substantial houses, so that their own splendour might reflect the greater grandeur of the Emperor. When Akbar took up residence in Fathpūr Sīkrī, he commanded the nobles to build houses on the ridge east of the palace. Such houses have rarely survived; Government made no provision for their maintenance, and even if the house was escheated on a noble's death, or confiscated, it was generally allotted to a new favourite.

With this letter concludes the period of Aurangzīb's direct contact with men more powerful and influential than himself. Henceforth, he was the head of every circle in which he moved, dominated only at a distance by the Emperor and his court at Shāhjahānābād.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations.

On Thursday, the third of Muḥarram the illustrious<sup>1</sup> this murīd entered Akbarābād. He turned off the road to meet the Prince of Mortals (Shujā') in Jahānārā's garden. After enjoying the pleasure of his company (faiz-i-ṣuḥbat-i-īshān daryāfta) in that agreeable place, he went in the evening to the house arranged [for him] in Mahābat Khān's garden.

On Friday [4th] he circumambulated the most luminous shrine (ba ṭawāf-i-rauḍa-i-munawwara rafta) and earned the blessings [appropriate to such a] visit, prompted by the purest spirit of submission.

The sacred structure (ḥazīra-i-qudsī asās, "holy hovel") still stands just as firmly as it did<sup>2</sup> when it was completed under Your Majesty's eye.

However, the following repairs are required: The dome covering the most sanctified sepulchre (marqad-i-muṭahhar) leaks (tarāwash mīkunad) in two places, on the northern side, during the rains.

The four great arches, most of the balconies on the second storey, the four small domes, the chamber on the northern side [of the tomb] and the basement rooms in the pluith all need attention.<sup>3</sup>

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1. As just indicated (Letter 44) the tables are a day behind Aurangzīb. Following them, his entry into Āgra should be dated Thursday, 6 December 1652.

2. Ba hamān dastūr ... ustuwār ast. N. has hama dastūr.

3. The five parts Aurangzīb mentions are, respectively:  
 α Chahar pesh ṭāq: The four great arches in the centre of each facade of the building.  
 β Akṣar-i-shāh-nashīnhā-i-martaba-i-dūwum. This refers to the twenty-four arched openings, three in either corner of the building. There are twelve in the upper range, and twelve in the lower; four beside each great archway in each façade, and two superimposed at each of the four angles of the building. Aurangzīb is clear that the only defective ones were in the upper range.  
 γ Chahār gunbaz-i-khward. These must be the four domes raised on octagonal kiosks around the base of the great dome.  
 δ Chahār ṣuffa-i-shimālī. The tomb is oriented roughly north and south. Aurangzīb could mean the north-western chamber on the ground floor of the tomb, facing Āgra along the curve of the river; or the north-eastern one, facing the Ārām Bāgh ("Rāmbāgh") and the various tombs on the bank.



The [marble] panels of the outer covering of the great dome (bām-i-jām posh-i-gumbaz-i-kalān [had lifted off] in two or three places, and let the water in (chakīda būd) during these [rains]; (dar in faṣl) they have [now] been repaired. One can only guess what will happen in the next rains (dar barishkāl-i-āyinda chi rūī dahad?)

The domes of the mosque and of the Jamā'at Khāna<sup>1</sup>

### 3. (Contd. from previous page)

\* Tahkhānahā-i-kursī-i-haft. Nothing else can be meant here, but the range of rooms built into the northern side of the pluith, and accessible by steps descending from its north-western corner. Each is furnished with a small prison-like opening in the thick wall, to admit cooling air from the river they faced. Their original simple decoration, of white upper walls and ceiling, and a coloured dado generally greenish, with touches of dark brown and yellow, is preserved. Such chambers are found in many houses in Upper India until the early twentieth century. They were the preferred method of cooling one's self, for those who could afford them; while in Persia such chambers were often called zir-i-zamīn, in India tahkhāna is the usual word; cf Platts, 345, s.v. tah.

The common feature of all these parts of the building is, that they had a flat<sup>outer</sup> surface permeable by water. The cement originally spread over the vaults of their floors or ceilings must have lacked hydraulic quality. Water will readily penetrate inferior cement, even when covered by thick slabs of stone or marble; but domes and flat roofs all over India have survived many hundreds of years without ever being re-surfaced, and the interiors are not stained by a drop of water.

Unfortunately, Aurangzīb has not used exact language; the parts<sup>are</sup> "dar ham kashīda" (B.M. has dar nīm kashīda, "broken in half", which I, with Ch., reject). He could mean anything between "utterly ruined" and "need to be tidied up". In view of the phenomenal rains of 1652, and the nature of the damage to the principal dome, it is permissible to assert that water penetrated the cement lying above the brick-built vaults.

1. The Jamā'at Khāna is the structure of dark red sandstone to the east of the tomb, an exact copy of the mosque to the west, except in necessary detail. It is usually called the jawāb, "answer", and alleged to have been built only for symmetry's sake. Some, less unreasonably, assert it was a guest house; but there were extensive quarters in the courtyard for such purposes. Guests of the highest rank could have been put up in the two-storeyed pavilions at either end of the transverse walk in the garden, or in the great gate-house with its eleven kiosks over each principal arch. The Jama'at Khana would have been used for assemblies of holy men to chant, and of sūfīs to sing; the endowment of the shrine, only recently swept away by the Government of India, allowed sustenance to be given to such people. Unacceptable to the strictly orthodox, the practice of Qur'ānic recitation or mystic meditation at the tomb of the illustrious dead was common throughout the Islamic world.

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[opposite] also leaked during the rains, and have also been repaired. The builders claim that if they were to break up (wā kardā) the floor above the roof of the second storey, plaster [the roof from above] (rekhta sāzand), and lay over it eighteen inches' thickness of tahkārī work,<sup>1</sup> the pavilions, balconies, and smaller domes<sup>2</sup> might perhaps be made sound. They profess themselves unable to do anything about the main dome.<sup>3</sup>

Hail to the saintly protector! [What a pity, that] such magnificent<sup>4</sup> buildings should have suffered such a great misfortune! Were the brilliance of your Majesty's careful attention to be directed towards restoring them, (agar partau ... bahri ilāj-i-daf'-i-ān uftad) how suitable that would be!<sup>5</sup>

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1. Arfa'-i-nīm gaz-i-tahkārī Tahkārī is obviously a term for waterproof cement.

2. Gumbāzhā-i-khwurd. N. omits the waw from khurd.<sup>w</sup><sub>x</sub>

3. Wa dar tadbīr-i-gumbaz-i-kalān ba 'ajz mu'tarif and. Even so, the dome does not leak now; a lengthy inspection in 1972, and personal enquiry, satisfied me. The dome itself, as is well known, is hollow, and the outer skin of the inner dome has been thickened by repeated applications of cement. The inner aspect of the outer dome still shows its bricks, laid in concentric circles. If it has ever leaked through the outer marble casing, it has long been water-tight. Constant maintenance for over 120 years, and the latest thoroughgoing repairs (c.1958-1966) have seen to that.

4. 'alā binā. Ch. repeats 'alā.

5. Here I.O. has a lacuna, omitting a whole line, from turfa-i- chashm zakhmī rasīda to the end of the sentence. Bāgh-i-Māhtāb is also omitted.

The Mahtāb Garden has been flooded, so it is not in the best condition. Soon it will be blooming again. The octagonal tank and the summer-houses on either side of it are, [however] clean and in good order.<sup>1</sup>

This murīd has heard extraordinary tales of the [late] flood of the Jumna; (az tughīyān-i-āb-i-dārya-i-Jūn ānchī shunīda shud jā-i-ta'ajjub ast) but now the river has retreated (mīl kardā) to its normal channel ('umq) and is flowing [quietly] along it.

On Saturday, [this murīd] conducted the Crown Prince of Mortals to his own house; on Sunday he paid a return visit, and took his leave of him.

On the happy day of Monday 7th,<sup>2</sup> he marched out of Akbarābād; and today, which is the eighth of the month, he has reached the purlieus of Dholpur.

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1. If this Māhtāb or Moon-lit garden was within the enclosure, it can only be a name for the whole garden, or at any rate the part between the tomb and the central tank. Then the "summer-houses on either side" would have been the double-storeyed pavilions, each surmounted with a marble-sheathed dome on an eight-sided kiosk, built against the garden walls. But the central tank is square; it has never been a hauz-i-muṣamman, unless the scroll-work in the corners is deemed to make it so. An octagonal bā'olī exists outside the south-western corner of the wall. It was to augment the water-supply for the garden within, and seems unlikely to have had a garden of its own.

If the Māhtāb Garden is the garden within the enclosure, then it is possible that the northern end was flooded, isolating the tomb on its plinth. This is alleged to have happened in the rains of 1948; but the authority is the uncertain oral one of the former hereditary guardians of the tomb.

Traditionally, a "Moon-lit" garden contained pale flowers, like lilies, whose beauty could still be appreciated on a bright night.

2. 8 December, 1652.

As he has already written, he will not (God Almighty willing) draw in the rein of rapid march. He shall traverse the stages of the journey by regular marches until he has reached the frontiers of the Deccan.

May the world-warming sun of the Caliphate continue to shine<sup>1</sup> upon the heads of men!

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1. For tābinda, Ch. has pāyinda.



LETTER 46

The description of the route taken would have been transmitted to Court for the recording of any special comments in the Imperial offices (compare Letters 8 and 16, supra) Aurangzīb's suggestion that a more easterly route be taken south of Gwalior would certainly have been recorded; as would the meteorological details, which accurately enough describe January conditions in those jungly regions.

All the Mughuls were ardent hunters, Aurangzib not the least (compare Ma'āṣir-i-ʿĀlamgīrī, 38-39 (text). The hunting preserves all over the Empire were most jealously guarded, and the duteous reluctance of Aurangzīb even to enter the hunting-preserve of Nadārābād ("Nonesuch") exemplifies the strict imperial control. There is no place of that name now in the environs of Dholpūr; but it is probable that Nadārābād may be identified with the ruined garden-palace known as Tāl Shāhī, which lies some eighteen miles west-south-west of Dholpūr, not far from the Chambal. The style of the surviving buildings (partly restored by the Jāt rulers of that now vanished native state) confirms the popular belief that they were built by Shāh Jahān. Such places were well adapted for the most spectacular form of hunting: a vast battue, in which beasts of every kind were driven up by battalions of beaters (gamargāh) to the shooting-boxes, where the Emperor and his guests might shoot promiscuously, with firearms or with bow and arrow.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and Thanks.

Acknowledgement of a royal letter sent after the Emperor's return to Shahjahānābād, and received on the morning of Wednesday, 23 Muḥarram.<sup>1</sup>

Happy be Your Majesty's fortunate arrival at the capital! May the Almighty, the granter of desires, keep Your Majesty's shadow spread for many years in ease and comfort over the heads of murīds!

It was written by the jewel-scattering pen: "It is four months, since that murīd was given leave of Us; it is two<sup>2</sup> months since the (late) viceroy of the four provinces of the Deccan (Shāyista Khān) left (his capital) for Aḥmadābād, and crossed (the borders of) Gujarāt. So, (harchand) the sooner that murīd reaches Daulatābād, the better".

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1. B.M. has 23rd; Nadwī and Chaudhurī follow it: but I.O. has 24th. As 2nd Muḥarram was Wednesday, and 3 Muḥarram Thursday (see Letter 45) the I.O. reading is not to be followed.

2. N. notes that his 'U here reads "four" for "two".

Hail to the qiblah of my necessities, and the ka'bah of my desires!<sup>1</sup> As long as he has been in service, this sincere-natured one has devoted himself as completely as he could to the fulfilment of every duty he has been honoured with; this will be clear to the perception of (Your Majesty's) heart, of angelic penetration. In conformity with the obedience-compelling command, he has nowhere wasted time or delayed unnecessarily (aşlan ta'allul wa tā'khīr nanamūda) on this occasion, when by Your Majesty's quintessential generosity and grace he has been given charge (dastūrī yāfta) of the province of the Deccan. He has served in this province before; there are many opportunities there to advance the imperial interests and (this murīd) knows that such service is equivalent to obeying God himself (ān rā ba-manzil-i-tā'at-i-ihahī midānad). Had it not been for the numerous difficulties (mawāni') of the road, and the ill-provided state of (his) troops - facts which are not concealed<sup>2</sup> from the mind which resembles the sun - how could the delays which have happened have been possible?

This murīd, a disciple of his true preceptor and guide, is a stranger to leisurely marches (ba āhista raftan kamtar āshnā ast). God willing, he will reach the vicinity of Burhānpūr in the middle of Şafar (may its end be auspicious and victorious). Should there be nothing to detain him there (agar dar ānjā kārī nabāshad) he shall set off forthwith for Daulatābād.

Hail to the qiblah of the two worlds! On the day he reached Dholpūr, this murīd heard that there was a large black and white nīlgau (nīla-i-ablāq-i-kalān)<sup>3</sup> in the hunting-preserve of Nadārābād, in (the district of) Khīr Khet, four or five cos from Dholpūr.

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1. Aurangzīb uses the first person singular pronoun for the first time. Nadwi notes that his 'U omits it; but it occurs again in the penultimate paragraph of this letter, and again, sporadically, in later letters.

2. Mastūr nīst. Nadwi, by a curious slip of the pen, writes mastūr, "aforesaid", and destroys the sense.

3. Neither in Steingass nor in Platts does the word nīla signify nīlgau, and its use must be taken as a colloquialism of the period. Steingass repeats Platts' entry: "Dried juice or sediment of the indigo-plant; blue," and adds, "a colour in horses or mules." In Letter 50, infra, it is used of a horse as meaning grey.

As it was not far to go he wanted to see it himself; however, he considered it improper (*az ādab dūr dānista*) to enter the royal hunting-ground without permission. He (therefore) sent Malik Ḥusain with some of his own qarāwals to view it and report (*ke dīda biyāyand*). They disclosed that a pure white stripe five or six fingers' breadth wide runs down the nīlgau's right side from the middle of its back to its belly, and that it looks very fine.

After leaving Gwālīor, (this murīd) saw a kotah-pāchah<sup>1</sup> which Hirde Narāyan, zamīndār of Gadia (Gaṛhī)<sup>2</sup> had sent to Dādā Bhā'ī in charge of some of his men. Your Majesty will see it; it is a rare specimen, unusually white.

As the yasāwal Abu Tālib was conducting Mīr 'Arab, the dismissed mutasaddī (accountant) of the port of Sūrat, and the merchant Sulaimān Riṣā' to the Court, the asylum of the world, this murīd directed him to see (both) the animal and the escort supplied by Hirde Narāyan safely to the capital.

The present faujdār of Gwālīor is a servant of Mahābat Khān (Lohrāsp) named Ḥusain, who was formerly faujdār of Dholpūr. His administration of Gwālīor is excellent (*band-o-bast-i ānja khūb karda*); travellers come and go in perfect security.

Hail to the saintly preceptor!

Since the imperial highway (*rāh-i-rāst-i-pādshāhī*) is hilly and stony between Palāncha and Siprī,<sup>3</sup> and hard going for bullock wagons, this murīd has chosen another road. It takes off to the right out of Palancha, and has easy gradients,

1. S.1058; Platts 858; a *chītal*; *cervus axis* or spotted deer.

2. Jahāngīr mentions Gaṛha as the (south) western extremity of the province of Mālwa: *Tūzuk* (translation) I, 348. There was a tiny thakūrāt of that name in the Bhopāwar subdivision of the quondam Central India Agency, which covered the rough country south of Dhar, and included Māndu.

3. This is Shīvpūrī, the terminus of one of the former Gwālīor State's miniature railways, some 85 miles S.S.W. of the capital, and the site of lavish marble cenotaphs of recent rulers. The popular pronunciation is now Sīprī.



with few stony patches; the Sind(daryā-i-Narwar)<sup>1</sup> ought to be (regularly) crossed on this road, since (this murīd) crossed easily.

Were a world-obeyed mandate to obtain the nobility of issue, that the faujdār of Narwar should devote his best efforts to making this road easily passable and establishing fortified posts at several places along it, it would be a source of comfort to the people of God; since the highway is cut by floods during the rains, and travellers suffer much hardship. The length of both roads is equal. This servant noticed two places on the side road fit for the establishment (of posts). After the road has been graded pursuant to imperial orders, sarā'īs too might be quickly built.<sup>2</sup>

Hail to my preceptor and guide! Out of Gwālior on the road he took the temperature was very changeable. (dar hawā khailī tafāwut shud). At night, a quilt was needed; (shabhā ba-lihāf ihtiyāj hast) early in the morning, nīm-astīns were worn; but from nine until three or four gharīs before dusk, even a light tunic was too hot (qabā ham garmī kunad).

Tomorrow will be Monday. This murīd will set off from Sironj, and march on.

May the sheltering shade of the Caliphate and of world dominion protect us for ever!

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1. Though the official name is the river Sind, I found on a visit in 1967, the term "Narwar-kī-nadī" in popular use. Aurangzīb's comments upon the rough scrubby country are well founded. Is the road he sought to have improved that by which Abu'l Faẓl was hastening to Court when he was murdered? He was urged to detour by the "Ghāt-i-Chānda".

2. Sarāhā nīz ba-zūdī 'imārat khwāhad yāft; the future indicative expresses a hope that others may do the thing, not an intention of doing it himself.



LETTER 47

Chaudhurī's introduction to this important letter is breathtaking in its brevity: "In this letter Aurangzīb makes recommendations for the transfer and promotion of certain Deccan manṣabdārs". Indeed, he does; but the most important part of the letter is the short first sentence. Here, beyond doubt, was planted the seed of the co-operation between Aurangzīb and Murād which bore fruit in 1658. Aurangzīb had already seen Shujā' at Āgra (Letter 45, supra), and the first result of that meeting was to be the arrangement for Aurangzīb's son Muḥammad Sultān to marry a daughter of Shujā'.

Whether Aurangzīb intended from the first to grasp supreme sovereignty for himself alone can only be conjectured; but it is certain that without these two interviews, the apparent understanding between the brothers in 1657 and 1658 could never have been so close.

Dorāha lies some twelve miles north-west of the city of Bhopāl (which was then of small importance) and about seventy miles south-west of Sironj. Aurangzīb reached Dorāha from Sironj in four days.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Briefest conventional salutations.

On Friday, 2 Ṣafar, this murīd met (his) brother Murād Bakhsh at the station of Dorāha.

The next day, at the same place, he gained glory by the arrival of an exalted farmān, written by a munshī, and became apprised of the sacred commands.

A world-obeyed mandate has obtained the favour of issue: "The zamīndār of Chānda, in obedience to Our commands,<sup>1</sup> is repairing to the Court, the refuge of creation. When he waits upon that murīd, he must not be detained above one day, but must be given leave (to continue) to the exalted Court".

Hail to the saintly protector! When the zamīndār has come, he shall be sent on, as commanded, to the Court, the refuge of rulers. Orders in the matter of his peshkash shall also be obeyed.

Hail to the true qiblah and ka'bah! A letter of Murshid Qulī Khān, and the daily report (roznāmcha) of the news-writer,

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1. Hasbu'l-hukmu'l 'alā. Nadwī reads hasbu'l hukmu'l 'arfā', noting no variant. There is no real difference in meaning.

disclose that Imām Beg, commandant of the fort of Qandahār in Telingāna,<sup>1</sup> has died (taṣadduq-i-farq-i-aqdas-i-'Alāḥazrat shuda, "has become a sacrifice to the sacred head of Your Majesty"<sup>2</sup>). This murīd has therefore appointed to the post the old household servant (qadīmī) Muḥammad Shāh, whose manṣab is 800 zāt and 800 sawār,<sup>3</sup> and who had come up to offer his ceremonial salutation (istiqbāl)<sup>4</sup> to this sincere servant. He has been told to march (to Qandahār) as quickly as he can. For the duration of his present appointment an augmentation of 200 zāt and 200 sawār (100 dū aspah sih aspah) is recommended, so that with his original rank and his increase he may enjoy a (total) rank of 1000 zāt, 1000 sawār, of which 100 sawār (will be) dū aspah sih aspah.

To succeed Muḥammad Shāh as thānadār of Tondāpūr,<sup>5</sup> Faṭḥ the son of Zakariā has been appointed. His rank was 600 zāt, 600 sawār; he had been granted a conditional increase (by Your Majesty). This conditional promotion has now been confirmed, as he is an experienced officer, and<sup>6</sup> has a numerous following. Arrangements have been made (kas ta'iyun kard, "an escort has been appointed") to conduct him from Burhānpūr to Tondapūr.

Hail to the preceptor and guide of this murīd! Yādgar Jolāq is on his way to kiss the threshold of the lofty Court.

1. Nadwī expands and clarifies the text by writing: Qandahār ba-ṣūbah-i-Telingāna. The town lies about 20 miles S.W. of Nānder. Chaudhurī calls Imām Beg Amān Beg.

2. Compare Irvine's Manucci, (J. Murray, London, 1907) Vol. IV, p. 436 (note upon Vol. II, p. 342, l.6): a quotation from E. Terry's Voyage to the E. Indies. (1777 ed.), 382. The phrase occurs again in Letter 67, when Aurangzīb reports the death of the aged Rāja Sangrām of Jammū.

3. Hashtṣad zāt u suwār. Nadwī notes that Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār's manuscript (his S) and the unreliable B read shashṣad, but in I.O., from which S. is derived, hashtṣad seems quite clear. In Letter 71, infra. Aurangzīb solicits a title for him, which the Emperor granted (Letter 73).

4. Sc., on Aurangzib's arrival, as governor, on the frontier of his province.

5. N. notes in his 'U. the form Tondrāpūr, which Ch. reproduces as Tondāpūr. M.U. reads Tondāpūr. Faṭḥ Jang Khān Ruhela was made faujdār of "Tundapur" in Khāndesh, and then of Choprā, with a rank of 1000/800. He was "benevolent, condescending, and generous, and greater than his rank implied" - ibid, (trans.) 530; text, III, 23. Tondāpūr was at the foot of the Fardāpūr pass.

6. Supplying wa between jama'it-dār and karamadānī.

He had gone with Nazar Muhammad Khān<sup>1</sup> to Mashhad; from there they had been taken (burda budand) to Iṣfahān, whence Yādgār made his way to Baṣrah, and returned (to India) through Sūrāt. On his way, he waited upon this servant.

The bounties which your Majesty confers upon the public are comparable to the limitless graces of God, and extend to every man according to his deserts and ability. Inevitably, therefore, Yādgār will receive such attention as the necessities of his case<sup>2</sup> require.

On the date of this letter, Sunday, 11 Ṣafar, (this murīd) reached the banks of the Nerbudda. By the grace of God, and through the good fortune of his upbringing (at the hands of) his perfect guide, he will use the greatest diligence (kotāhī nakhwāhad warzīd) ("will not practise deficiency") in performing his appointed duty.

May the sun of the Caliphate and of world dominion continue to shine until the dissolution of the universe!

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1. This is the ruler of Balkh, Badakhshān, and Bokhara, who succeeded his brother in 1642, was driven from Bokhara by his son in 1645, and fled to Persia before the invading Mughul forces in 1646. Although he returned in the Mughul evacuation late in 1647, he was soon expelled again, and died at Simnan in 1650.

2. Reading ba qadr-i-hājāt, and not following the emendation of Nadwī, ba qadr-i-hālāt. Ch. too reads hālāt.



## LETTER 48

As he draws closer to the Deccan, Aurangzīb turns to local affairs; once over the Nerbudda (which he probably crossed at Hoshangabad) he was in his own provinces.

The reference to mangoes and grapes may seem trifling; but these fine fruits were not required for the Emperor's table alone; as has been seen before, they were distributed daily among the nobles in attendance at Court.

Diānat Khān had begun the reign of Shāh Jahān as Dīwān i-Sarkār (in effect, Steward of the Household) to the Empress Mumtāz Mahal; he spent the entire reign of Shāh Jahān in distinguished administrative posts, and died at a great age, still active, in 1673 (Ma'āsiru'l Umarā, II, 37-38 (text); Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī 124 (text). Aurangzīb did not succeed in retaining him in the Deccan; an order must have come directing that he be allowed to continue his journey, for in Shah Jahān's 27th year (1653-54) he was made Dīwān-i-Sarkār to Prince Murād Bakhsh.

This letter also introduces Multafit Khān, the able revenue officer whose achievements were overshadowed by the brilliant Persian Murshid Qulī Khān. The elder son of A'zam Khān Jahāngīrī, he got his father's title after Aurangzīb's victory at Dharmat. Six weeks later, he was dead, of heat-stroke induced by exposure in armour to the sun at Samugarh: Ma'āsiru'l Umarā, III 503 (text). He was about sixty.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations.

The letter written in Your Majesty's own hand arrived (while this murīd was) on the banks of the Nerbudda.<sup>1</sup>

This sincere-natured one thanks (Your Majesty) for the gifts of lengths of flowered muslin, (dū dāmhaī)<sup>2</sup> which had

1. Mss Narbada, with final he-i-hawaz; N. Narbadā, with final alif. Ch. follows the mss. It would appear that Narbada was the official spelling in the seventeenth century. An anecdote related in the M.U. of Fazā'il Khān Mīr Hadi (died 6 Zī-Qada 1114 (13 March 1703), gives a clue to the change; he represented to Aurangzīb that in such words as Bangāla and Mālwa the final he stood for the long Hindi ā, "but was misunderstood in early Muslim times". In the coins of Etāwa, the alif replaces the he in 1109/41 (1697-98); so official action must have been taken to alter the spellings. Compare the spelling of Aonla (Anwala) on coins of that mint issued under Afghan domination in the names of 'Ālamgīr II and Shāh 'Ālam II. See Ma'āsiru'l Umarā, III, 39-40 (text).

2. Dū dām has given difficulty to some writers. There is a clear explanation in Platts' Hindūstānī dictionary, however, s. v. dū (p. 529): "Flowered muslin (the flowers being worked with a needle)". He explains the phrase as meaning "two threads". Monier Williams (Sanskrit Dictionary, 475) has s.v. dāman: "string, cord, rope, fetter, ... girdle, chaplet, wreath ...". Compare Letter 87 (infra).



been put in the hands of his agent at Court. May almighty God maintain (pāyinda dārad) your Majesty's shadow, rooted in generosity, ('awāṭif pāya) over the heads of murīds!

It was written by the pen, tracing jewelled lines: "Let that murīd remain a little while in Burhānpūr after his arrival, and put the affairs of the Payān Ghāt in order. Let him then repair to Daulatābād, and restore the prosperity (abādān sāzad) of all four provinces of the Deccan, especially his own jāgīrs".

Hail to the pure-hearted and saintly protector! The affairs of the Payān Ghāt have (indeed) fallen into great disorder (ba-ghāyat az nasq uftāda) and it is essential to give them some attention. God willing, this murīd will remain in Burhānpūr for some days, in obedience to the most sacred command which has, out of graciousness, acquired the elegance of issue. When he has satisfied himself with his arrangements for the Payān Ghāt, he will proceed to Daulatābād.

Through the divine guidance, and the good fortune of having been educated and advised by his guide, the most perfect of the perfect, he will spare no effort to restore the cultivation (ma'mūrī) of the Deccan provinces, and put some order into their administration. Their (present) desolation and disorder cannot be concealed; (this murīd) considers it essential to labour to his utmost capacity.

(These) lines, a treasure-house of inspiration, were inscribed: "When the mango-season comes, let the finest mangoes and many dishes of grapes, (thāl-i-angūr-i-bisyār)<sup>1</sup> be sent (to Us)".

Hail to the qiblah of the two worlds! Before (this) noble order was issued, this murīd sent men to watch over the mangoes fit for dispatch to the Court. As soon as the season comes, he will regard it as his own good fortune to send, regularly, (mutawātir) choice selected mangoes to the Court, the asylum of the world; exactly as he used to do (when here) before (dar dastūr-i-sābiq).

Hail to the qiblah of the necessities of all who dwell on earth! Because of the poor yield from the pargana of

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1. Note the use of the Hindī word.

Phūlerī,<sup>1</sup> which the imperial divans had given him as a jāgīr in lieu of cash salary, Diānat Khān was travelling from Burhanpur to represent his case at court. Near the Nerbudda, he waited upon (dīd) this murīd; since he has been in the Deccan for some time, and is well-versed in many of its special problems, (khaṣūṣiyāt) this murīd has kept him with him; he intends to exchange the pargana of Phūlerī, which is really very poor (zabūn) and unproductive, for another jagir, and will (thus) keep Diānat Khān in employment (bī-kār nakhwāhad guzāsht).

Hail to the true preceptor and guide! The buildings in the fort of Burhānpūr have not been kept in repair during the last few years, and they are now much decayed (shikast wa rekht-i-bisyār dāsht). Further, the repairs which Multafit Khān began two or three months ago are not finished yet. The day for the ceremonial entry into the town has therefore been fixed for the eleventh<sup>2</sup> of Rabī'I which is more suitable than the first. Until then, (this murīd) will remain outside the city.

(This letter has no formal ending in the mss.)

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1. Phūlerī, following mss; but N. and Ch. read Phūl Marī. There is a Phūlbārī in the Mālda district of Bengal, and another in the Patna district of Bihār; but the reference is clearly local. For Diānat Khān (d. 1673) see M.U. II, 37-38 (text).

2. B.M. clearly has yāzdahum; so has I.O. Nadwī notices yāzdahum in his S and 'U, but prefers pānzdahum. Chaudhurī reads yāzdahum.

LETTER 49

At last, on 9 February, 1653, Aurangzīb has reached Burhānpūr. At once he takes up the work of review and re-arrangement. The life of the incomparable Murshid Qulī Khān Khurāsānī (Ma'āsiru'l Umarā, III, 493-498) is treated elsewhere. From this letter it would seem that he had reached Burhānpūr before Aurangzīb, and had had time to familiarise himself with the poor state of one of the jāgīrs assigned for his own salary, as well as conditions generally. Recognising his worth, Aurangzīb ardently advocates his case; an ill-paid officer is unlikely to be efficient.

Saiyid 'Abdu'l Wahhāb, who seems to have done well administering Baglana, is not dealt with in the Ma'āsiru'l Umarā. He was almost certainly India-born. In 1635 he was promoted from 300/200 to 400/300 (Selected Documents of Shāh Jahān's Reign, no.3, at p.6). He supported a large following. In 1644, he was promoted to 1500/1500. As a mark, probably, of Imperial pleasure that he kept up his contingent so well, he was allowed 800 sawar dū aspa sih aspah. (ibid, no.66, pp.141-142). It appears that he made the Pilgrimage; the Munshi in his list of entitulatures calls him (inter alia) Hājjiū'l haramainu'l ashrafain. (B.M.244 B; I.O. 297 A-B). The Khwāja 'Abdu'l Wahhāb to whom Aurangzīb addresses a few short formal letters in the Ādāb is another person: the grasping and covetous Sunnī Bohra who was Qazīū'l Quzāt from 1659 to 1675 (M.A. 143,148 (text) life in M.U., I, 235-241 (text)).

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations.

As indicated previously, I made my ceremonial entry into Burhānpūr on the eleventh<sup>1</sup> of Rabī'I and have since applied myself to its affairs. When I have made satisfactory arrangements for the administration of the Payān Ghāt, I shall proceed (God willing) to Daulatābād. I trust that the results of my labours will gradually (rafta rafta) become apparent, through God's grace and the good fortune of being, in temporal and spiritual matters, under the loving care of my true preceptor and guide.

On the happy day of Monday, the second of Rabī'II, I was honoured by the arrival of a royal farmān, written by a munshī; and I learned of the sacred commands. God willing, I shall obey the obedience-compelling mandate in every matter.

Hail to the qiblah of necessities, and the ka'bah of

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1. I.O. and B.M. again read yāzdahum, which must be preferred to the pānzdahum of Nadwī. Chaudhuri now illogically reads pānzdahum, though he had yāzdahum in Letter 48. Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār's manuscript must have had yāzdahum, as he makes the date of entry 30 January, 1653 (O.S.): Aurangzīb, I, p. 151.

desires! It used to be alleged (shunīda shud) that Baglāna was being administered well. But now that I have reached Burhanpur, the opposite of what was claimed has become apparent. Through those who stand at the foot of the throne, the residence of the Caliphate, the dismissed news-writer of Sūrat may perhaps inform Your Majesty of the truth.

Baglāna has been in disorder (khūb ba'aml niyāmada)<sup>1</sup> since Saiyid 'Abdu'l Wahhāb's time, and I must detach some of my own men to settle it. Because of bad administration, moreover, its revenue is much less than it used to be, and to establish satisfactory government much money will need to be spent.

All four provinces of the Deccan have declined from their former well-ordered state and require close attention. To carry out the many tasks which present themselves here, I need a group of efficient men in my service.

The extent of the decay and desolation of the Deccan is well known to Your Majesty.

In view of present requirements, I have appointed, as faujdār of Baglāna, Asadu'llāh, the son of Mīr Fazlu'llāh.<sup>2</sup> He is an experienced officer, and an old household servant; I have ascertained that he has served efficiently in previous appointments in Sultānpūr, Nadrbār, and Choprā. His mansab is 500 zāt, and 100 sawār, dū aspah sih aspah. I have added 500 zāt and 800 sawār, dū aspah sih aspah, for the duration of his present appointment, thus proposing a total original and additional rank of 1000 zāt and 900 sawār, dū aspah sih aspah. I have confirmed two of his former maḥāls; the rest of his salary for the (continued) original and additional (ranks)

1. Note the Urdū idiom; khūb is used adverbially.

2. There is a short note on both in M.U. under the father's name; he was a Saiyid of Bokhāra, came to India in Jahangir's reign, and died; the inference is, of the effects of practising alchemy, in which he was remoured to have had some success. The son was Bakhshī to Aurangzīb when first viceroy of the Deccan (1636-1644); did not go with him to Balkh; was faujdār of Haringāon and Choprā in Khāndesh, and was accidentally killed during Aurangzīb's siege of Golconda in 1656; Ma'āshiru'l Umarā, II, 461-465.



has been provided out of tan-jāgīrs in Baglāna.

All of my own men posted to various forts have been recalled, except those who were there in accordance with imperial orders; their postings have been confirmed.

Hail to this sincere murīd's qiblah and ka'bah! 'Uṣmān, an Afghān, whose manṣab is 1000 zāt and 800 sawār, was previously faujdār of the sarkār of Bījāgarh.<sup>1</sup> This sarkār, now that Shāyista Khān has been transferred, is in my jagir; and a faujdār is needed in Sultānpūr and Nadrbār, which belong to the imperial khālīṣa: I have therefore made my servant Beg Muḥammad Khweshgī faujdār of Baglāna, appointing a force of cavalry and infantry to serve under him; and I have made 'Uṣmān faujdār of Sultānpūr and Nadrbār. I have increased his manṣab by 200 sawār for the duration of this appointment, so that his rank (original and supplementary) will now be 1000 zāt and 1000 sawār.

Hail to the qiblah of men's necessities, and the ka'bah of their desires! The imperial Court appointed Murshid Qulī to be the dīwān of the Bālā Ghāṭ. Through Your Majesty's munificence, he had been holding fertile jāgīrs in Hindustān, and (part of his salary was paid in) cash. Upon reaching here, I came to know (some facts about) his pargana of Saudā. Its assessed revenue is 10,850,000 dāms (Rs. 271,250); but last year, the actual revenue was (only) 71,000 odd rupees<sup>2</sup> (c. 2,840,000 dāms); of this total, 50,000 odd rupees (c. 2,000,000 dāms) were (the subject of a claim against) natural calamities, and 20,000 odd rupees have been received into the imperial treasury. Your Majesty has been graciously pleased to reduce the assessment (of Saudā) by 5,700,000 dāms; (Rs. 142,500) so 5,000,000 dāms (Rs. 140,000) remain to Munshid Qulī Khān as salary.

With such a poverty-stricken jāgīr, which yields so little, it is difficult for him to carry out his duties; so in addition I have confirmed to him 3,000,000 dāms (75,000 rupees) out of the revenue of this pargana (which used to be (one of) Diānat Khān's) on the basis of the imperial salary scale. As

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1. About 25 miles north of Choprā and about 55 miles south of Māndū, in a direct line between them both; and about 70 miles W.S.W. of Khāndwa.

2. I.O. omits this entire phrase, and the words jama'dārad from the previous phrase.

usual, the rest of his salary has been settled against the (lands held by) the former jāgīrdārs of Saudā, upon whose transfer they were granted to Murshid Qulī.<sup>1</sup> I have granted the old jāgīrdārs maḥāls yielding five or six months' cash salary in exchange<sup>2</sup>.

May the world-warming sun of the Caliphate continue to shine over the heads of the inhabitants of the world until the end of time!

1. SAUDĀ still remains a "pargana of Khāndesh," as it was when a parwāncha was issued on 19 May, 1635 respecting jāgīrs for "Saiyid Abdu'l Wahhāb son of Saiyid 'Abdu'r Raḥman". Saudā was then assessed to 956750 dam (Rs. 23918.12.0) and granted to one of the Saiyid's brothers (Selected Documents of Shāh Jahān's reign, no. 3, at p.15).

2. N. and Ch. both have Murshid Qulī Khān, though N. notes the absence of the title in his M. It was not conferred until 1654 (Letter 55, *infra*) note 2 to p.4: I.O. reads 'iwaz dar maḥālī; other mss, 'iwaz dar maḥāl, which seems better.

LETTER 50

Had the ambassadors of the Deccan kings delayed their visit to Aurangzīb much beyond 20 April, 1653 - over two months since his arrival at Burhānpūr - there might have been fresh strain in their relations with the Mughals. Had the cousin of Shāh 'Abbās II pressed on to Golconda, there might have been another. Both the Deccan kingdoms were Shī'ī; Golconda in particular maintained direct though intermittent relations with the Shāh, and the usual Shī'a rituals were performed in the mosques. For Mīr Šālīḥ to make for that court was not surprising; but it was Mughal policy to block off the flow of talent which for over two centuries had been enriching the Deccan from all directions, but especially Irān.

The keen interest in the cargo of horses just landed at Sūrat reflects the fact that the best-esteemed blood was imported; native breeds were little valued.

The despatch of Zia'ud-dīn Husain with an armed escort to collect revenue in Berār occurred on 23 April 1653. By 1656, he was functioning as Dīwān-i-sarkār-i-'alī; but not as Dīwān of the entire Mughul Deccan, as the editors of Selected Documents of Shāh Jahān's Reign seem to imply in their abstract of no.102, a yād-dāsht of 22 February 1656 (p. 202).

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations.

On the happy day of Monday, 22 Jumada I, the hājibs (ḥujjāb) of the temporal rulers of the Deccan, ("the worldly men of the Deccan") arrived with their petitions, and waited upon me; they laid before me the gifts that had been sent with them.

'Ādil Khān has sent some gold turban-fringes (turra) and a gold-encrusted thumb-ring (to wear when drawing a bow), (zihgīrī-i-muraṣṣa') and an elephant with trappings.<sup>1</sup> Never before has he sent me such a miserable gift. In obedience, however, to Your Majesty's orders (that these rulers be tactfully treated) I have refrained from returning his gifts.

Qutbu'l Mulk has sent a ring, set with a diamond not

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1. Fīlī ba tala'ir. Tala'ir is equivalent to the Hindi jhul. See Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī, translated by Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār, P. 328, where the term appears in the glossary with a question mark beside it. It does not appear in Steingass, nor in Vullers; but is probably akin to tila, gold, and means trappings studded with gold. Such a meaning accords well with the context in the lists of gifts in the Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri. N. reads talāya.

wanting in flaws; a small quantity of other things set with gold and jewels; (He has also sent) six elephants; four for me, and two for Your Majesty's household servants. At a suitable time they shall pass, God willing, before Your Majesty's eye.

As commanded by Your Majesty, I shall soon send (envoys) to Bījāpūr and Golconda; Ja'far to Bījāpūr, and 'Abdu'l Latīf, once dīwān of Qandahār and now my servant, to Golconda. With each I shall dispatch quantities of gold-mounted articles and lengths of Gujarāt cloth.

It would probably be better, both for our general political advantage and for the prompt carrying out of Your Majesty's commands, if these (rulers) were to recognise that their dealings with us should be directed through the ṣubahdār of the Deccan. However, anything that occurs to the happy heart will be the marrow of good policy, and the essence of propriety.

Hail to the ka'bah of men's desires! Mīr Ṣāliḥ, who is the son of Mīr Qawāmu'd Dīn Māzandarānī, son of Shāh 'Abbās' maternal uncle, has just come from Sūrat. He had reached Aurangābād, and intended to go thence to Golconda; but I summoned him to Burhānpūr, and have sent him to the Court, the refuge of creation. I am sure that after he has acquired nobility of kissing its exalted floor, he will be admitted into imperial service with a rank appropriate to his worth and capacity.

Hail to the true guide! The mace-bearer (gurzburdār) 'Abdu'r Raḥīm, sent from Court to Sūrat to buy Arab horses, has just reached Burhānpūr, on his return journey to the luminous Presence. With him is a man sent by the ruler (ḥākim) of Qaṭīf.<sup>1</sup> Apart from the governor's peshkash, there are fifteen horses. One is an 'Irāqī hack, eight years old, whose price has not yet been fixed. It is of high breeding (aṣil-i-kalān) and very fine; were its hindquarters ('aqb) equal to its

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1. N. suggests Qazīf, but manuscripts have Qaṭīf. B.M. is quite clear. Qaṭīf is a port on the north-western shore of the Gulf of Baḥrāin, in Sa'ūdī Arabian territory, the site of oil-wells discovered in 1945, and a junction of oil pipelines.



forequarters, it would be highly suitable for your Majesty to ride (khailī pasand-i-tab'-i aqdas mīshawad). Yet it is a noble beast, (ayina-i-khūbī dārad) and well worthy of Your Majesty's stable.

There is also a high-spirited grey, (asp-i-nīla-i-sarjang) four years old, of high breeding, and middle height. The master of the cargo-ship (ganjā-dār) (on which the horses were imported) bought it at Mocha<sup>1</sup> for two thousand rupees. It is worth as much as five or six thousand; for it is capable of great improvement, (taraqqī-i-bisyār khwāhad kard) despite being lean at present, and not fully mature.<sup>2</sup>

Hail to the qiblah of this murīd! I wrote before,<sup>3</sup> that I would send one of my men to the province of Berār, in accordance with the world-obeyed mandate. Accordingly, on 25 Jumāda I, I despatched to Ellichpūr Ziā'u'd-dīn Husain, an experienced officer who was formerly my Mīr Bakhshī,<sup>4</sup> with a force of four hundred mounted archers and matchlock-men and two hundred musketeers on foot.<sup>5</sup> I have written to Shāh Beg

1. Mukhā clearly pointed with zamma in B.M.

2. Nadwī inverts the sense by reading ba kamāl rasīda. The manuscripts read narasīda. Ch. follows them.

3. The letter is not in the manuscripts - further proof that what survives is a selection, not the complete file, of Aurangzīb's letters to his father.

4. In Gujarāt, perhaps (1645-1647), or in Multān; but it appears from M.U. (s.v. Mir Faḡlu'llāh Bokhārī) that Asadu'llāh (letter 49, supra) was bakhshī during Aurangzīb's first vice-royalty in the Deccan.

5. And by this show of force the local zamīndārs were to be overawed, and induced to pay revenue they might otherwise have withheld. Aurangzīb means to establish strong government from the start of his viceroyalty. The classic statement in a European source is Manucci's: "Throughout the empire the king is obliged to maintain ... faujdārs ... for if he had no such officers no one would pay him either revenue or tribute. For the people of India never pay without being forced, and to collect half the total quantity of supplies that they are under obligation to pay to the crown, it is necessary to tie up the principal husbandmen. These latter collect with equally severe measures from the peasants ..." After describing the tortures employed, Manucci concludes: "In this way, little by little, the peasants pay what they owe. This habit is much honoured among the husbandmen - that is, never to pay readily; and to undergo these torments and this disgrace is among them an honour." Manucci, *Storia do Mogor* (tr. Irvine) II, 450-51.

Khan that he should depart for Burhānpūr the moment ẓiā'u'd dīn arrives.<sup>1</sup>

1. The career of Shāh Beg Khān, a regular progression, is here summarised from the Ma'āṣiru'l Umarā, II, 665-667 (text): at the death of Jahāngīr - 1000/400:

- 1st year of Shāh Jahān: the title of Khān conferred; sent with Saiyid 'Abdu'llāh Khān of Barha against Jujhār Singh (who had revolted in June, 1628, and submitted in February, 1629)
- 2nd year promoted by 500/200 to 1500/600
- 3rd year further promoted to 2000/1000, and given a banner
- 4th year 300 sawār added; now 2000/1300
- 6th year promoted successively to 2000/2000, and then to 3000/3000
- 9th year marched under Khān-i-Zamān (son of the first Mahābat Khān) against Shāhjī Bhonsle and 'Ādil Khān, where he showed great heroism
- 10th year promoted 4000/3000, and made qila'dār of the qaṣba of? Junner? (illegible in the micro-fiche used by me)
- 15th year given a drum, and made Subahdār of the province of Berār (under Aurangzīb, who was then in his first viceroyalty)
- 18th year called to Court, where "it would appear that he was made faujdār of Meerut" (Shāh Nawāz Khān must have had doubts about this; he adds his authority, however: "ki ṣāhib-i-Pādshāhnāma mīnawisht".)
- 19th year summoned from Meerut to march with Prince Murād to Balkh and Badakhshān
- 20th year commandant (hāris) of the fort of Ghor, where he exerted himself in dispersing Uzbek marauders
- 21st year again summoned to Court; given a robe; and, as Meerut had been put in another faujdār's hands, he was given some jāgīrs in Berār, and given leave to go to the Deccan.

Here there is a gap until the 28th year, but these letters allow us to fill it. This letter shows, that from 1648 to 1653 he was apparently in Berar; perhaps functioning as faujdār of Ellichpūr. There are thirteen letters to him in the Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī, all apparently of 1657-58. The Ma'āṣiru'l Umarā notes his appointment\* in the 28th year, and his dismissal in the 29th (no cause being assigned). In 1656 (the 30th year) he marched with Aurangzīb against Golconda, and after Aurangzīb's retreat remained until the rains had ended (sc., late August) hovering about the Imperial frontier with three thousand cavalry. When Aurangzīb marched north in 1658, he was left as faujdār of the environs of Aurangābād; "ba'd az ān aḥwālāsh daryāft nīst". An extraordinary conclusion to such a career! As he rises from obscurity in Shāh Nawāz' pages merely as "an Uzbek" with no genealogy given, so he sinks from sight, after over thirty years' distinguished and energetic service.

May the curtains of the glorious sultanate remain  
suspended from the poles of imperishable perpetuity!

LETTER 51

Aurangzīb is reminded to press on to Daulatābād, the official capital of Mughal Deccan (though the residence of the viceroy was in Aurangābād, eight or ten miles east.) But the real interest of this letter is in Aurangzīb's failure to get one of his own men appointed to a manṣab, thus becoming (so to speak) a covenanted officer. The Emperor strictly reserves his prerogative of awarding manṣabs; a viceroy may recommend candidates, and may even bestow them conditionally; but no more. By urging his suit with the argument that Asadu'llāh is a Saiyid, Aurangzīb doubtless hopes to make it embarrassing to refuse him promotion. He himself had no real illusions; his remarks on the Saiyids of Bārha are worth reading (Aḥkām-i-'Ālamgīrī, translated by Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār, p. 79).

The importance of the point Shāh Jahān makes about Asadu'llāh's pay is that no matter how much Aurangzīb gives him, or however high he raises him in his vice-regal court, his imperial manṣab remains 500/100; well below the level of an amīr. Only to men in imperial service could manṣabs be granted and titles awarded. Even Aurangzīb's foster-brother Mīr Malik Ḥusain, who entered the "zumra-i-bandahā'i-Pādshāhī" in this very year, began with the rank of 800/100, and got no title (M.U. I, 798 (text)).

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations.

Acknowledgement of the receipt, on Wednesday, 10 Jumāda I of a letter in the Emperor's own hand, and of a farmān written by a munshi on Friday, 12th (dū rūz ba'd-i-ān) (neither letter is dated)

Effusive thanks.

(This) sacred order was issued: "You should by now have made satisfactory administrative arrangements (band-u-bast-i an kamā yanbaghī namūda)<sup>1</sup> for the Payān Ghāṭ, and be relieved of that responsibility (az muhimmāt ... fārigh shuda bāshad). Immediately upon receipt (ba-mujarrad-i waṣūl) of this command, the image of felicity, (īn nishān-i sa'adat timṣāl) you should proceed to Daulatābād. Consider the Bālā Ghāṭ and the Payān Ghāṭ as if they were your own, (az khwud dānista) and make proper dispositions for their management."

Hail to my saintly protector! How shall I give thanks for this regal condescension of my spiritual guide? May the Almighty keep the lofty (buland-paya) shadow of the murīd-

1. Chaudhurī's text has sa'ī after yanbaghī, without ms authority. Did his scribe consider yanbaghī (sc., oportet) an adjective?



cherishing guide spread over the heads of slaves!<sup>1</sup>

It will be clear to the view of the heart of angelic penetration, that I have ever (hama waqt) regarded (taṣawwur namūda) the performance of services to the Empire as the surest way to attain my desires in this world of the next, and that in that duty I expend myself to the utmost. Caring nothing for mere bodily comfort I pass (ṣaraf sāzad) as much of my time as possible in attending to public business.

The decay of the Deccan is not of a kind that can be quickly restored; the province has been neglected these ten years. In my absence, (ghā'ibāna) I could not put the affairs of those territories in order as well as I could if present; (dar būdan-i-khwud) and I know that it is a matter of concern to your Majesty, that these districts be administered well. Further, there is no business so urgent in Daulatābād as to justify my hurrying there without concluding my arrangements (nazm wa nasq) for the Payān Ghāt. So, even though the climate of Daulatābād is pleasant and agreeable, and I hold that region in high regard, I would prefer (mīkhwāst) to remain some time in Burhānpūr, to compose my mind about Khāndesh, Berār, and the Payān Ghāt.

Now that a noble command to that effect has been issued, I am ready to set off for Daulatābād; but were it to be ordered that I should go there at the beginning of Shahrewar, (sc., late in August) the Payān Ghāt might be put into better order than if I went now (behtar az īn šurat bāyad). However, anything which may occur to the sacred heart is the essence of good policy.

In reply to the request I sent the Court, the asylum of the world, for an increase in rank for Asadu'llāh, the son of Mīr Faḍlu'llāh, and my proposal that he be appointed faujdār of Baglāna, (this) lofty order has acquired the adornment of being issued: "If you want Asadu'llāh to serve as faujdār of Baglāna while remaining a member of the imperial cadre (dar zumra-i bandahā'i-i Pādshāhī munsalik būda) your proposal that his rank be increased is beside the point; (ḥisābī nīst)

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1. In this loyal outburst, Aurangzīb once again employs the first personal pronoun.

for Baglāna is part of your in'ām. You may pay him anything you like out of your own resources for administering Baglāna; but you may not increase his imperial maṇṣab."

Hail to the qiblah of men's necessities, and the ka'ba of their desires! The decision of the sacred heart is excellent; but in that same letter I indicated that Baglāna produced a low revenue, and was costly to administer. It was in the light of that fact that I considered that a man in the imperial service should be chosen. I recalled the fact that (nazr ba ānki) for this employment 'Umr (Tarīn), (although) an Afghān,<sup>1</sup> was promoted from 300 zāt 100 sawār to 1000 zāt 1000 sawār dū aspah sih aspah, and I (therefore) proposed a (similar) promotion for Asadu'llāh, who is not only an hereditary officer of wide experience, but is also a Saiyid; and whose present substantive rank is 500 zāt and 100 sawār (dū aspah sih aspah). Most of his jāgīrs, both for his original rank and the increased rank (proposed) are in Baglāna; I have not sought compensation for (these, which were my own) in'ām maḥāls. I considered my suggestion to be in the financial interests (mutaḥammin-i-kifāyat) of the government, founded in the firmament. If it meets with acceptance, well and good; if not, I shall give him the salary appropriate to the (proposed) increased rank out of Baglāna, which your Majesty's graciousness has conferred upon me.

A world-obeyed mandate has obtained the honour of issue: "Since your letter shows that neither 'Umr Tarīn nor the men you have sent can manage Baglāna properly, it is ordered that you send 'Umr to Court."

Hail to my perfect guide! Those who stand at the foot of the exalted throne would know very well how many of my men have gone to Baglāna, how long they have remained, and how they have thrown everything into confusion.<sup>2</sup> Had I put men

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1. Chaudhurī in his index (but not in his text) calls him 'Umr Khān. I have found no further reference to him; but it is likely that he should be identified with "Asylum of Heroism, Powerhouse of Courage, most excellent in generosity and refinement, 'Umr Tarīn" of the Munshī's list of titles: I.O., 298A (first line). The tone of Aurangzīb's parenthesis points up the general reluctance of the Mughuls to promote Afghāns.

2. Aurangzīb is of course ironic; he means to say that certain courtiers have misrepresented him, and that he has sent nobody to Baglāna. Irony is one of Aurangzīb's favourite weapons.

into the administration of Baglāna for even a short time, (yakchandī) their actions would have been reported to Your Majesty.

'Umr Tarīn is being sent to Court, as ordered.

Your Majesty has been pleased to command a remission of Rs. 50,000 in the amount of the zamīndār of Chāndā's regular tribute, (commencing from) the first of Farwardīn in the 26th year of the ever-blooming accession, and has commanded the collection of any arrears of the 25th year, (outstanding) up to the last day of Isfandār, which he might owe. God willing, what is ordered shall be done.

An obedience-compelling order has obtained the honour of issue: "Shāh Beg Khān does not maintain the prescribed number of troops. Send him to Court. If you wish, you may take the parganas he holds in tuyūl in exchange for your cash salary; otherwise, appoint in his place someone who is efficient and has an adequate contingent."

Hail to the qiblah and ka'bah of this murīd! The state of the contingents of officers posted to the Deccan, and their general condition, is well known to your Majesty. My weak wit knows of nobody who has more men than Shāh Beg Khān, nor of anyone better able than he to manage affairs here. However, in obedience to the command that I may, if I wish, take his tuyūl maḥāls in exchange for my cash salary, I shall in a few days send (God willing) one of my experienced men with a suitable contingent to take possession, and shall despatch Shāh Beg Khān to kiss the threshold of the lofty Court.

To keep the province of Berār in order, a large contingent is required (dar kār ast). Trusting in the limitless imperial bounty, I hope that when your Majesty receives the accounts of the actual yield of the parganas of Shāh Beg Khān's (old) jāgīr, you will be pleased to recall your devoted servant's salary, paid in cash on a ten-month scale without deductions for natural calamities, and will condescend to add the parganas of Ellichpūr and Ankoṭ to the total of those which the happy heart has selected, and vouchsafed to constitute my salary.

However, I shall regard anything which may be commanded as my own felicity.

May the world-warming sun of the Caliphate remain forever shining upon the horizon of the greatness of the sultanate!



## LETTER 52

After tarrying three months in Burhānpūr, Aurangzīb was startled and upset to receive, on 14 May 1653, a manshūr from his father reprehending his private conduct. The occasion of the paternal rebukes which called forth the anguished excuses of this letter was most likely Aurangzīb's amorous affair with Hīrā Bā'ī, a concubine of his maternal uncle by marriage, Mīr Khalīl. A man of thirty-five, the father of six children with a seventh (Muḥammad Ā'zam) about to be born, he submitted to the seductions of this girl, whom he took into his own harem as Zainābādī Maḥal, and dallied with for many months until she expired; to Aurangzīb's great but not lasting grief.

Shāh Nawāz Khān relates that Mīr 'Askarī (the later 'Āqil Khān, Rāzī, who lived until 1696) remonstrated with the prince, who in the first anguish of his sorrow was rushing out alone to hunt. Aurangzīb replied in verse:

Grieving at home gives no solace to the heart;  
In the lonely jungle (biyābān) I can cry out to my  
heart's content

Mir 'Askari replied:

Love seemed so easy; alas, but how hard it was!  
To part was so hard; but what ease the lover (yār) gained!

(Ma'āshiru'l Umarā, I, 792<sup>1</sup> (text))

To His Majesty, the shadow of God!

Short conventional acknowledgement of a royal letter delivered by the yasāwal Fāzil on 16 Jumādā II [1063]/14 May 1653

After offering the salutations due from a murīd, I learned of the obedience-compelling orders contained therein; the words of counsel and advice written by the jewelled pen have been laid up in my mind and heart (ba jān wa dil talaqqī namūd).

Hail to the saintly protector! The faults of this entirely defective slave are more than one can count, as I have submitted time and again before now. May the power of the true guide's spiritual direction, and the grace of his correction of my faults, ever accompany me! Praised be almighty God, that despite all these blemishes, I am guilty of no act (hechgāh misdār-i-amrī ... nagashta) which might be contrary to the will of God, or of God's shadow on earth.<sup>2</sup>

The reports recently laid before Your Majesty are a tissue of lies (maḥẓ-i-khilāf ast). The truth should have reached Your Majesty; it is set out in the letter which I sent to (my) agent at the sublime court, in response to a letter

1. There is a life of 'Āqil Khan in M.U., II, 821-823, with remarks on his poetic prowess; but this episode is from the life of Mir Khalil.

2. Aurangzīb once again shows no scruple in assimilating the imperial authority with the divine.



by order (ḥasbu'l ḥukm) which he wrote (me). I recognise that conduct of the kind (referred to in this letter) is despised by all men; (ba s̄ā'iru'l insān) how could I sink to such a depth?

It is clear to the heart of angelic penetration, that to resist what the Almighty Creator has ordained is beyond the power of man; for what is written will assuredly come to pass. Anything which God provides for a man will happen, whether he abhor it or desire it.

In abundance of wisdom, extent of experience, and mental power and foresight, the true qiblah and ka'bah is distinguished above all men. (Your Majesty's) solicitous guidance is entirely directed towards the welfare of slaves. The universal generosity of the most perfect of perfect guides has given me constant ground for hope that, just as God (may his power be glorified) who perpetually lavishes limitless benefits upon his creation, does not, despite all the fulness of his omnipotence, punish anyone unless he has committed a crime or sin, so Your Majesty, who is the shadow of the Creator (on earth), imitating the example of the divine graciousness, will not suffer murīds, without any fault or offence of their own, on a single (unsupported) accusation, (ba mujarrad-i-qaulī) the truth of which cannot be verified, to be exposed to calumnies beyond their capacity to bear, and to be laid open to public contumely and contempt.<sup>1</sup>

Hail to the qiblah of mortals! A lofty order has been issued upon my going to Daulatābād, and upon the despatch of money from the treasury there to the luminous court. God willing, I shall set off when an auspicious moment is at hand.

A lofty farmān has acquired the nobility of issue, that money be sent to Murshid Qulī, the dīwān of the Balā Ghāt. As soon as he has made arrangements, I shall send him the money, through Sazāwār Khān.<sup>2</sup>

May the sheltering shade of the Caliphate's world dominion remain ever spread over the heads of humanity!

1. Aurangzib's flirtation with Hīrā Bā'ī is discussed by Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār in his Ahkām-i-'Ālamgīrī, pp 39-41, and sources there quoted.

2. A note on Sazāwār Khān is appended to this letter.

Note to Letter 52

The long career of Sazāwār Khān is treated in the Ma'āsiru'l Umarā, II, 438-440 (text). He was a son of Lashkar Khān Abu'l Hasan, on whom there is a separate entry; at Jahāngīr's death he was middle-aged, an amīr holding the rank of 1000/500. Under Shāh Jahān, he rose as follows:

1st year: serving at Kābul with his father the "Nāzim" (governor); joined in repelling the abortive invasion of Nazr Muhammad Khān of Balkh. After the Khān was driven off, Sazāwār Khān was raised to 1500/600.

3rd year: 2000/700: to the Deccan with the Emperor.

4th year: at the request of 'Azam Khān Jahāngīrī, sent to serve under him.

5th year: sent to his father Lashkar Khān, now subāndār of Delhi.

6th year: vice Jān Sipār Khān, sent as faujdār of the Lakhī Jungle (cf Letter 43 supra, and notes). Promoted to 2500/2000, and given a banner and a drum.

8th year: dismissed (ma'zūl)

9th year: marched to the Deccan under Khān-i-Daurān; distinguished himself in the siege and capture of Ausā (which fell on 19 October 1636).

10th year: promoted 2500/2500.

11th year: again promoted, 3000/2500, "thus rising superior to his contemporaries."

15th year: marched to the Presence, to join Dārā upon the expedition being mounted in defence of Qandahār against "the ruler of Irān" (wālī-i-Irān); but news came of Shāh Šafī's death, and the abandonment of his plans.

17th year: appointed gila'dār of Juner upon the death of Sipahdār Khān (cf Letter 70, infra); "and it was probably about this time that he was made faujdār of Sultānpūr and Nadrbar (correcting the text's "Nānder"), an appointment taken from him in the 22nd year."

Here there is a gap; Shāh Nawāz Khān merely says, that "after he had lain sick some time, his manṣab was suspended," and that in the 29th year "after he recovered," he was called to Court, given audience, and sent as faujdār of Tirhūt. "He had the rank of 3000/2000 and was granted many maḥals there as tuyūl", but died soon after reaching his post, in 1065. This must have been after the rains of 1655, in September or October; 1065 ended on 30 October 1655.

The combination of the faujdārī of Sultānpūr and Nadrbār, which Sazāwār Khān apparently held in 1654 (cf Letter 80 ) with the qila'dārī of Juner is not likely. Qila'dārs were supposed to remain within their forts. (cf Letter 70) Probably his first illness fell before Aurangzīb's second vice-royalty. A passage in Letter 59 shows that he still held the pargana of Nadrbār in jāgīr in the latter part of 1654; but he was not faujdār, for Aurangzīb had already appointed one 'Uṣmān to that post in 1653 (Letter 49, supra). The Emperor was doubtful of Sazāwār Khān's health, and early in 1655 ordered Aurangzīb to send him to Court "if the cup of his life be not already filled." Aurangzīb replied that he was in full possession of his faculties; but Sultānpūr had already been conferred upon Muḥammad Sultān, and Aurangzīb now proposed that Nadrbār be added to Multafit Khān's jāgīrs; so in 1655 the old warrior marched off towards Delhi, his son Shafqatu'llāh at his side. Aurangzīb recorded the event with praise, and regret: Letter 93.

Perhaps Sazāwār Khān fell ill again, and was again suspended from service (ma'zūl); at any rate, he went to his last command with a mansab of 3000/2000, 500 sawār less than he had attained nearly twenty years before.

## LETTER 53

Nūr Muḥammad, the deceased faujdār of Fathābād Dhārūr, got a manṣab early in Shāh Jahān's reign, and served under A'zam Khān Jahāngīrī, the father of Multafit Khān and Mīr Khalīl, who captured Dhārūr from the Nizām Shāhīs in January, 1631. He received the title of 'Arab Khān about August, 1634; his rank was 1500/800. In the next year he was appointed qila'dār of Dhārūr and promoted to 2000/1500 (500 2h 3h). Later raised by 500 sawār, he got a drum in the 24th year. After holding the fort "with honour and distinction for seventeen years" he died in 1653.

Mīr Khalīl was the second son of A'zam Khān Jahāngīrī (d. 1647). It was through marrying a daughter of Aurangzīb's maternal grandfather Yamīnu'd Daula Āṣaf Khān (d. 1641) that he was connected to the Imperial family. The Emperor duly confirmed him in command of Dhārūr and the proposed rank of 2000/1000; accepting also Aurangzīb's recommendation of a title, he honoured him as Muftakhir Khān (M.U. I, 787 (text); Letter 55, *infra*). In 1658, at Burhānpūr on his march north, Aurangzīb gave the paternal title A'zam Khān to the elder brother, and the title Sipahdār Khān to the younger, with a rank of 3000/2000; six weeks later, after Dharmat, the more exalted title of Khan-i-Zamān was conferred. After serving almost exclusively in the Deccan, and reaching 5000/4000, he died as Subahdār of Mālwa late in 1684. He must have been close on eighty years old. (Life and anecdotes in Ma'āṣiru'l Umarā, I, 785-792 (text)).

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Briefest conventional salutations.

From the official news-reports your Majesty will have learned of the death of 'Arab Khān. Fathābād<sup>1</sup> is a frontier fort, and it is essential that a trustworthy officer command it. I have accordingly directed Mīr Khalīl to proceed thither; he is to reach Fathābād as soon as possible, and to attend to all outstanding matters (ba lawāzim-i-khidmat-i-marju'a bepardāzad). He is an hereditary servant, an officer of agreeable manners and much experience, (kār-talab-i-khwush-salūk) and has served with distinction in the artillery. For this appointment as commandant of Fathābād, I propose an addition to his rank of 500 zāt, 200 ordinary sawār, and 600 sawār, du aspah sih aspah. His rank was 1500 zāt and 800 sawār; so it will now be, original and increased, 2000 zāt

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1. Fathābād Dhārūr is at the foot of the Bālāghāt Range, some twenty-five miles south-east of Bīr, and thirty miles due south of the Godavery. It should not be confused with Dhārwar in North Kanara, which remained in 'Ādil Shāhī hands until the fall of Bījāpūr in 1686.



and 1000 sawār (600 du aspah sih aspah).

As well as the pargana of Daryāpūr,<sup>1</sup> assessed at 70 lakhs of dām, which constituted his jagir, and which through his good management (az khwush-salūk-i-khwesh) has had more done for it (ziyāda burda) in the one year that it has been (assigned as) his salary than (would normally be done) in two years, I have granted him the environs of Fathābād as tan-jāgīr, with effect from the death of 'Arab Khān. The assessed revenue of these lands is 88 lakhs of dām; 3 lakhs have been remitted, so 85 lakhs (remain).

If officers of Mīr Khalīl's type (īn qism-i-bandahā'ī) are employed in frontier forts, it would be a matter of great satisfaction. If, out of Your Majesty's abounding generosity to mankind, he were to be encouraged by the gracious grant of a title, it would be a perfect example of solicitude for insignificant beings, and of kindness towards old servants.

Hoshdār, the son of Multafit Khān, is a khānazād worthy of encouragement, and is a skilful musketeer. I have therefore appointed him dārogha of the Ordinance (ba dāroghagī-i-topkhāna). It is some time since he has had a promotion, so I have added 200 zāt and 100 sawār to his rank for the duration of his tenure; so that he now enjoys a rank, original and increased, of 900 zāt and 400 sawār.<sup>2</sup>

May the world-warming sun of the Caliphate continue to shine brilliant from the horizon of grandeur!

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1. In the eastern Payān Ghāt, south of the Gāwīlgarh hills.

2. See Letter 55, (800/400) Letter 58 (dismissed) Letter 75 (appointed faujdār of Kalam, 900/400). A life is given in M.U. III, 943-945 (text). The author claims that Hoshdār later passed on some of his skill in firearms by instructing the youthful Prince A'zam in their use.

## LETTER 54

This letter outlines the grounds for the incipient quarrel between the kings of Bījāpūr and Golconda; they have both been occupying land in "the Carnatic", which covers, roughly, the northern part of the present Tamil Nadu and the southern part of the now Āndhra Prādes̄h. 'Ādil Khān's southern raid thrust had brought him up against the Nāyaka of Madurai, and so his armies turned northwards, to find themselves in conflict with the Golconda forces under Mir Jumla. The nominal sovereign of these lands was the unhappy representative of the vanished Vijayanagar dynasty, referred to in these letters as Śrī Ranga Rayal.

The system of sharing the crop is described summarily by Moreland ("The Agrarian System of Moslem India," pp. 182-185) and more compendiously by 'Irfān Ḥabīb in Chapter VI of his masterly "The Agrarian System of Mughal India". His conclusion (pp. 227-228) is that the collection of revenue on the batā'ī principle was a temporary step. It was subordinated to actual mensuration of the cultivable land in each village, which was thenceforth to be the basis of the assessment. He goes further: "Aurangzīb ... declares that Crop-sharing had proved a very expensive method". In support, he quotes Letter 68 (infra) and a parallel letter to Sadu'llāh Khān the wazīr (B.M. 118A, ). These letters relate, however, not to batā'ī as such, but to the generally deficient state of Deccan finances, and Murshid Qulī Khān's particular difficulties in doing his work on a salary greatly reduced by being given Deccani jagirs yielding about five-twelfths of the jama in place of his jagirs in "Hindustan the model of fertility", which gave him twice as much.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Acknowledgements of a letter signed by the Emperor,  
(muzaiyan ba khaṭ-i-qudsī) delivered on Thursday,  
14 Sha'bān by 'Alī Reza', with a full suit  
of honour (turban included)

Formal thanks.

It is and ever will be clear to the murīd of the Guide of Mortals, brilliant as the sun, that I unceasingly beg the Court of the Almighty that I may obtain the grace of meeting the wishes of my preceptor and guide. I hope, that that grace will always be available to me.

I shall act as commanded in the matter of my policy (sulūk) towards the Hypocrites of the Deccan (Dunyādārān-i-Dakan). I have heard, that 'Ādil Khān is at present on the worst of terms (dar maqām-i-purkhāsh wa siteza) with Qutbu'l Mulk, and that he is in the process of occupying (dast-i-taṣarruf ... darāz kunad) Qutbu'l Mulk's (newly-won) dependencies, seized by him from the local chieftains of the Carnatic (zamīndārān-i-Karnāṭak). Should there be war, I shall offer Qutbu'l Mulk such aid as may be ordered.

A world-obeyed command has obtained the elegance of issue,

that I should treat Qutbūl Mulk with unremitting courtesy, and ensure that he continues content with my conduct towards him. So if I were to learn the contents of every obedience-compelling command which the Court of the Caliphate issues to him, and if he were ordered to direct his replies through me, I would be able to keep him in the very best of humours with me.

A world-obeyed mandate has acquired the honour of issue: "You must make strenuous efforts to increase cultivation in the Deccan. Mushid Qulī is an intelligent and experienced officer, who has been confirmed in the office of Dīwān. You must pay heed to everything his loyalty prompts him to advise, and you must make every effort to establish the system of batā'ī,<sup>1</sup> and to repeal (bar taraf namūdan) any regulations whose enforcement harms the country.

Hail to the saintly protector! I have constantly been doing all I can to increase the (revenue-paying) population of the Deccan, and have devoted my attention to all four provinces; which will, I hope, through the policy of batā'ī, put on a smiling aspect (nasq-i-shāyista bayābad). What has been written by the tongue of the inspired pen is a very miracle. I know what an excellent officer he is; (ū-ra īn chunīn banda dānista) it was I who requested that he be appointed Dīwān of the Balā Ghāt. In every matter, I have taken his help; and I shall continue to do so.

Hail to the ka'ba of men's desires! Relying on Your Majesty's never-failing generosity, Murshid Qulī has hopes of a title, which would increase his dignity. Were grace accorded to Multafit Khān, too, by the grant of a standard, it would be a source of pride to him.

A lofty order has obtained the nobility of issue upon the pargana of Bīr: From the beginning of the kharif season of the Year of the Horse (īlān īl) let (Bīr) be entirely resumed into the imperial Khālisa. In exchange for whatever you hold in tuyūl in that pargana, a cash salary on the ten-monthly scale is granted."

Hail to the qiblah of the necessities of those who dwell on earth! The towns of Shāh Garh and Manjhli Gāon<sup>2</sup> in the

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1. Sharing the crop on a fixed proportion between the peasant and Government. From the Hindī batāna: Platts, 132, s.v.

2. On the Sindphana river, some 7 miles S.W. of its joining the Godavery.

pargana of Bīr have always been part of my jāgīr. Furthermore, fine shela<sup>1</sup> cloth fit for despatch to the luminous Court is found nowhere in the entire Deccan but at Shāhgarh. I hope that those two mahals (at least) may be ordered confirmed upon me. But the most important reason (why I want Bīr kept out of khālisa) is that Murshid Qulī has bestowed much care upon that pargana, as I have submitted. Since (I think) that there should be a uniform pattern for the administration of the whole pargana ('amal-i-kār-i-pargana-rā yake qārār dahad) I have given over (my) two mahals as well to his care.

I have informed Sazāwār Khān of the command issued upon his salary. As Ankoṭ and its appurtenances had hitherto constituted the salary of Shāh Beg Khān, Sazāwār Khān is satisfied by taking Nadrbār and Sultānpūr in exchange. Those two parganas, however, are returning less than the assessed revenue; so he requests, that they be settled upon him at the rate fixed for 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Shāyista Khān when it was his tan-jagir, (namely) one crore and sixty lakhs of dām (Rs. 400,000); and that he receive the remaining forty lakhs (Rs. 100,000) of his salary from some other place.

May the curtains of greatness remain affixed to the tent-poles of perpetuity!

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1. Sela: "A kind of scarf or mantle (of silk, lawn, or muslin; usually composed of four breadths depending from the shoulders loosely over the body: it is much worn and given as a present, in the Dakkhan) - a silk turban", Platts, 712.



## LETTER 55

The second paragraph of this letter clearly demonstrates that crop-sharing (baṭā'ī) was introduced to the Deccan as a conscious act of Imperial policy. As marks of encouragement, the two principal officers implementing the new policy receive respectively a title and a standard ('alam).

Aurangzīb considers the honour of a title for his connection (and his father's brother-in-law) Mīr Khalīl to redound to his own credit as much as to the Mīr's. It is to clear the way for his further promotion, that Aurangzīb was so anxious to put him into the vacant qila'dārī; but Shāh Jahān appears to have given him no further advancement.

Shāh Beg Khān had been ranked as 4000/3000 since 1636, and there would not have been fifty officers senior to him in rank or status. In passing, Aurangzīb disparages the few Deccanis of higher rank. In his later life, he often expressed contempt of officers who were Deccani either by race or domicile (compare Ahkām-i 'Ālamgīrī, ed. and tr. Sarkār, p. 77) and acquiesced in slights put upon them by their colleagues (e.g., Ma'āşir-i- 'Ālamgīrī (text) 383-384). The Mughuls' policy was self-defeating: throughout the seventeenth century they were holding out promises of high rank to deserters from the Deccan kingdoms, to individual adventurers, and to Marāthas; yet they would find themselves employed mostly in the Deccan, with Deccani jāgīrs returning an annual yield far less in proportion to the assessment than most jāgīrs in other provinces, and treated with considerable reserve. The last twenty years had been passed in digesting the remnants of the Ahmadnagar kingdom.

Aurangzīb had probably recommended Mīr Hoshdār for the zāt rank of 900 to make easier a promotion to 1000 and the grade of amīr (with a very substantial increase in pay). Aurangzīb's disappointment at the Emperor's holding him down to 800 shows through very plainly; but worse is to come. (Letter 58, *infra*). He acquiesced, however: cf Letter 74, *infra*.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Acknowledgement of two royal letters; one with the Emperor's signature, and the second written entirely in the Emperor's own hand, (sarāsar marqūm ba qalam-i-jawāhir raqam) and accompanied by a full dress of honour (no date given for either letter).

Brief formal thanks.

I have noted (āgahī yāft) Your Majesty's orders and shall, God willing, carry them out in every detail. How shall I give thanks for the favours which have been brought to light from the treasure-house of (Your Majesty's) solicitude for the most insignificant creatures? May God (glorified be his power!) keep Your Majesty's broad shadow spread for ever over the heads of murīds!

Concerning the jewels fit for the honour of Your Majesty's acceptance, Qutbu'l Mulk has been strictly enjoined (qadghan shud) to obey the written (orders) of the Khān, the exemplar of felicity, and to be quick about it; (tasāhul nawarзад) as Your Majesty has ordered. The confidence in which Murshid Qulī Khān is held at Court, and Your Majesty's tenderness towards slaves, have earned him the honour of the title of Khān; and I have informed him of this part of the obedience-compelling command. I have urged him to spare no effort in introducing the system of batā'ī, making it a source of approbation and applause (for himself). Multafit Khān has gained glory, through (Your Majesty's) perfect generosity, and the grant of a standard. He has been ordered to set up the system of batā'ī in the Payān Ghāt, which (although) a fine district, needs much attention. His opinions upon the new system have been set out in a letter which will have been read in the sacred assembly (of Court). The acceptance of my request about Muftakhir Khān<sup>1</sup> is a source of increased honour to me. May Almighty God keep green for many years the cultivated fields of men's hopes, through the clouds of compassion of the Qibla of Mortals!

Your Majesty commands, that I should keep Muftakhir Khān at my side; and that I should send Shāh Beg Khān, (now) unemployed at Aurangābād, to Fathābād.

Hail to the pure-hearted and saintly preceptor! The conditions of service of men posted to the provinces are, that they may not be promoted (further) until they have served as faujdār or qila'dār, or in an equivalent post. Muftakhir Khān (whose younger brother has been honoured with a title and the office of Bakhshi) has submitted, out of his devotion to the service, that were he appointed to Fathābād he would carry out every duty that demanded hard labour and effort. So in the light of this, and of his intelligence and experience, I have (already) sent him to Fathabad.

When I was here before, there were (always) some competent officers with me; at present, (however), apart from Deccanis, none of my officers holds a higher rank than Shāh Beg Khān, nor maintains a more numerous following. If I had (even) one officer like him with me, I would (certainly) have a place for him (ganjayish darad).

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1. Evidently the conferring of this title upon Mīr Khalīl, newly-appointed by Aurangzīb qila'dār of Fathābād Dhārūr (see Letter 53, supra and note). When he marched north with Aurangzīb in 1658 he held the office of Mīr Bakhshī (I.O. fo. 306 A).

Hail to the ka'ba of the necessities of mankind! As a result of my petitions, many officers are now enjoying every kind of royal favour. Muḥammad Ṣafī, Bakhshī of the Deccan, is an efficient and hereditary servant; he also has hopes of Your Majesty's inexhaustible kindness. If he too were to be exalted by the gift of a title, it would be a proper exercise of solicitude for slaves and old servants.

Your Majesty has been pleased to ordain: "Hoshdār<sup>1</sup> has

1. Muḥammad Ṣafī was the second son of Islām Khān Mashhadī, Governor of Bengal 1634-1639, Wazīr 1639-1645, and Viceroy of the four Deccan provinces, 1645-1647. At his father's death he was at Court (having been sent with a peshkash the previous year) and had the rank of 1500/400. In 1649 he marched to Qandahār under Aurangzīb; the next year, he went on an embassy to Bījāpūr, and the year after he brought to Court a peshkash of four lakhs in cash and kind from 'Ādil Khān'. In the 26th year of Shāh Jahān (1652) he was appointed news-writer (Wāqī' nawīs) of the four Deccan provinces (M.U. III (text) 740-741).

His appointment as Bakhshī of the Deccan must have followed soon after; it is not noted in the Ma'āşiru'l Umarā, which merely remarks that "in the 27th year" he got the title of Khān, which Aurangzīb had solicited in this letter, while noting that he "is dignified by the Bakhshī-ship of the Deccan". In the next letter Aurangzīb acknowledges the award of the title in conventional terms; a few months later he is still Bakhshī of the Deccan (Letter 58, *infra*). The Ma'āşiru'l Umarā then says: "In the thirtieth year, he was criticised for some mistakes, and called to court; his manṣab was reduced by 500/200"; and his next appointment in the following year, was far from the Deccan: the qila'dārī of Kāngra, and his 200 lost sawār restored.

Aurangzīb was greatly put out, for Ṣafī Khān had committed no fault in his eyes: "Ṣafī Khān has been blamed, but he is not at fault; why should hard-working men like him be removed on some slanderous accusation? The doors of His Majesty's favour have been closed against him; his work has suffered day by day; he is being held up to ridicule and contempt among his colleagues in a manner quite beyond the pale ... he has done well as Bakhshi and Wāqī'-nawīs of this province, and there is other work he can do just as well".

So Aurangzīb wrote to Mīr Jumla, and he begged the new wazīr's concurrence in protecting Ṣafī Khān, and sending him back to the Deccan (B.M. fo 100A; I.O. fo. 111A). Nor did he stop there; he wrote to his uncle Shāyista Khān, now Khān-i-Jahān, (B.M. fo. 126B) and to his father-in-law Shāh Nawāz Khān Ṣafawī (B.M. fo 137B) beseeching their interest and assuring them that Ṣafī Khān had done no wrong. When he sent him, reluctantly, to Court early in Ramāṣān, 1066 (late July, 1656) he sent with him jewels and curiosities, including booty from Golconda, as his gift to the Emperor; but in vain; the decision was not changed.

On his seizure of the crown, Aurangzīb made Ṣafī Khān qila'dār of Shāhjahānābād; in his second year, he made him Bakhshī of his personal establishment where he served many years; and he was still serving, as qila'dār of Āgra, in 1685. Perhaps in the evening of his career he was not so useful to Aurangzīb, with all India in his grip to draw upon for talent.

been appointed Dārogha of the Ordinance, as you asked. He has been accorded a rank of 800 zāt and 400 sawār."

Hail to the qiblah of the desires of slaves! If I had not thought him worthy the grant of a rank of 1000, I would not have recommended him for 900. He is an hereditary servant, capable of (profiting from) instruction. However, everything that casts its brilliance upon the heart of angelic penetration is fit and proper.

May the curtains of the Caliphate and its greatness remain affixed to the tent-poles of perpetuity!



LETTER 56

Aurangzīb had intended to leave Burhānpūr, at last, on 1 October, 1653. The rains of that year must have been prodigious, for they are usually well finished in Khāndesh by October. At any rate, Aurangzīb now proposes a further delay of five weeks, and a march on 10 November, 1653.

By promptly granting the title of Ṣafī Khān to Muḥammad Ṣafī at Aurangzīb's request, the Emperor shows that he is not always as reluctant to accept his recommendations for promotion as he was in the case of Multafit Khān's son Mīr Hoshdār; but the late Islām Khān, as viceroy of Bengal, wazīr, and then viceroy of the Deccan, and Multafit Khān or his father 'Azam Khān, were in quite different classes.

The treasure being sent to Court included the proceeds of customs duties at Surat, as well as land revenue. The income from the Sūrat duties had been settled on Jahānārā by her father. It was the duty of the governor of each province to guard from boundary to boundary these annual consignments of cash, which financed the royal court, the vast staff of clerks attendant on the central government, the salaries of the naqdīs - officers in imperial service paid in cash - and the Emperor's military establishment. The convoy would have been proceeding up the Tāptī valley, and would have entered Aurangzīb's vice-royalty at the north-western corner of Baglāna.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Acknowledgement of two royal letters arriving  
one after the other (no dates given)

Formal thanks.

A world-obeyed order, compelling compliance, has obtained the elegance of issue: "The rainy season is over; (bar sar āmda) proceed forthwith to Daulatābād."

Hail to the saintly preceptor, the guide of pure heart! In these parts, there was far more rain at the end of the season, than at the beginning. There has been much flooding, and it has been a long time abating; travelling has been very difficult. The date previously set for my departure from Burhanpur, 8th Zī Qa'da, was (therefore) out of the question. I shall (now) set out for Daulatābād (God willing) on the 17th Zī Hijja. After I reach there I shall spend most of my time in that city, as ordered.

The gracious grant of a title to Muḥammad Ṣafī has been a source of great honour to me. May the Almighty keep the shadow of Your Majesty's clemency and bounty extended for many years over the heads of murids!

An exalted mandate was associated with the honour of issue: "Orders have been given to Hāfiz Nasr about the despatch from the royal treasury of Sūrat of the money collected there from the privy domain, founded in the firmament, and from the domain of Nawāb Begam Ṣāhib (sc., Jahānārā). You must send a trusted servant of your own to the borders of the pargana of Sultānpūr (to meet it).

Hail to the true qiblah and ka'bah! One of my servants is in Baglāna with a strong force, and Sazāwār Khān has just been given leave to go there; as I have already informed the Court, the Asylum of the World, in an humble petition dealing with my private affairs. Furthermore, I have sent Sazāwār Khān a letter, warning him (az rūy tā'kīd) to guard the treasure well, and escort it. I have also directed the faujdār of Baglānā to see it safely over the boundaries of his territory, and to use the most exquisite vigilance and care. Since the faujdār is an old servant, what a joy it would be for him (zihe sarafrāzī-i-ū) if his petition were granted!

May the world-illuminating sun of the Caliphate remain refulgent upon those who live in the lands of the habitable globe!

LETTER 57

Already, after working only nine months under Aurangzīb, Murshid Qulī Khān has made a deep impression. Aurangzib wants him by his side; by appointing him Dīwān of his own household, he would ensure that; so he asks the Emperor for leave to make the appointment.

Between Burhānpūr and Daulatābād is about 125 miles. Aurangzīb makes the journey in clear cool weather in 27 days between 8 November and 5 December, 1653, averaging five miles a day. It is curious to note that the same march, in the reverse direction, was made by Aurangzīb's son 'Āzam in the hot weather over fifty years later, when he set out to contest the crown with his elder brother Mu'azzam, in about the same time. On 3 April, 1707, he left Aurangābād; on 24 April, he reached Burhānpūr, having made the distance in eighteen marches, with four halts (William Irvine: *The Later Mughals*, edited by Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār, p. 11). Indeed, 'Āzam averaged but 5½ miles a day on his entire three months' march from Aḥmadnagar to Dholpūr, even though the prize (which he lost, and the empire too) was the great fort of Āgra with all its gold, jewels, and costly stores (William Irvine: *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 219.)

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations

As I had written before<sup>1</sup> I left Burhānpūr on the 16th Zī Hījja, and set off for Daulatābād. I have left Muḥammad Tāhir in charge of Burhānpūr. He has spent much time there, and is familiar with its administrative peculiarities; and I am well pleased with his treatment of the ryots and the inhabitants generally.

I crossed (the Sahyadrī range) by the Fardāpūr pass,<sup>2</sup> which is about two and a half cos to the west of Tondāpūr, and is quite level (tamām suhūlat dāsht) in comparison with the Ruhangīra pass, or (any) other. On the date selected by the local astrologers, the fourteenth of Muḥarram, I entered Daulatābād.

Through the grace of Your Majesty's truthful heart, I

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1. There is no other reference to this, and the letter may be lost. In the previous letter, Aurangzib announced he would leave on 17th Zī Hījja (8 November, 1653).

2. N.'s rejection of Fardāpūr for "Kharwāpūr" seems inexplicable. Fardāpūr, where Jahānārā built a sarā'ī, lies approximately 20m south of Jālgāon, on the modern road leading past the caves of Ajanta to Aurangābād, and at the foot of the Ajanta or Sahyadrī Range. The pass is, as A. says, an easy one. Chaudhurī's ms also reads Kharwāpūr; sensing an error, he emends it to Barwāpūr!

shall, I hope, manage this district in the same style as the system of bata'ī, introduced as commanded, will be a cause of increased prosperity.

Hail to the true preceptor and guide! I need an intelligent and experienced man as dīwān (in Daulatābād). Despite his present commitments, Murshid Qulī Khān can do the job (sar ba rāh mītaṡānād namūd). A command might be issued conferring it upon him; otherwise, one of my servants may be appointed dīwān. However, any path that may be pointed out will be conducive to my welfare.

May the world-warming sun of the universal dominion of the Caliphate continue to shine upon the heads of men until the end of the world!



## LETTER 58

The recruitment of specialised military personnel was one of the weaker points of Mughal military administration. The Emperor would not have wanted the hundred grenadiers for Dārā's siege of Qandahār, for that had ended late in September, 1653, while Aurangzīb was still at Burhanpūr. A general reinforcement of the royal forces seems to have been the Emperor's intention; a fourth campaign against Qandahār was talked of, but nothing came of it.

The "excellent gunners" in service under the Deccan kings were almost certainly Europeans. Their excellence was relative only; drunken, disorderly, and personally without esteem (compare Manucci's *Storia*, ed. Irvine, II, 6-7) they were skilled neither in making guns nor in maintaining them; as Manucci says (*ibid*, I, 93) all they used to do was take aim. Dārā's European artillery was little help to him at Samugarh.

The reasons for Shāh Jahān's obdurate opposition to Mīr Hoshdār's promotion to a post, for which his skill with firearms seems to have well qualified him, do not appear fully from this correspondence. There can be little doubt, however, that his relatively junior status (though not age, for he must have been at least forty) was one factor: compare Letter 56, *supra*.

Once again the question of fine mangoes for the Court has exercised the Imperial mind. The men set to watch the slowly ripening fruit must often have been sorely tempted!

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of two royal letters arriving successively (no dates given)

In the first letter, (this) noble order was issued: "Select a hundred grenadiers (*deg andāz*) from the Deccan forts, and send them to the luminous Court."<sup>1</sup>

Hail to the true qiblah and ka'bah! Upon learning of the world-obeyed mandate, I commanded the mūtaṣaddīs to summon artillery-men from the forts, and parade them for my inspection, so that I might send to Court a troop of some slight quality (*ki shāyistagī dāshta bāshad*). When they arrive (here) from their forts, I shall send fifty; after replacements for them have reached me, I shall send the remainder to the exalted Court. The (want of) skill of (Deccan) artillerymen is well

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1. Compare letter 63, *infra*, where Aurangzīb reports finding only 76 rocketeers (*bāndār*) in Imperial service in the Deccan. The grenadier and the rocketeer were defined categories (compare Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, 158-59; 129 (*deg*); 146-150 (*bān*, with descriptions by late 18th century English observers.)

known, and it is only out of a sense of obedience to the lofty command that I send (such) men to the sublime Court.

Excellent gunners are said to be (in service) at Bījāpūr and Golconda. The rulers of those places, (duniyādārān-i-ānjā) because they make a great show (lāf) of their devoted submission, and are accorded a far greater share of the limitless imperial graces and favours than they deserve, have (in fact) performed no sort of service to us (in providing and training artillery-men). For the fourth time now, we are launching a victorious campaign (to the north)<sup>1</sup>; if an imperial order were issued to them, (to offer aid) in that matter, they would recognise it for a source of good fortune, and obey.

In the second obedience-compelling mandate, it was ordained: "The office of Dārogha of the Ordinance in the Deccan is a great place (khidmat-i-kalānī ast). Hoshdār is unworthy of it. If Ṣafī Khān will accept it, and can discharge its duties along with his obligations as Bakhshī, confer it upon him.<sup>2</sup> If not, Mīr Aḥmad Rīzvī is not a bad choice (ham bad nīst). You should realise that imperial posts (are important) and should be filled by imperial servants (khidmat-i-pādshāh-rā fahmīda ba mardum-i-Pādshāhī mifarmūda bāshad).

Hail to the guide of mortals! To the pure mind of Your Majesty it is well known, that I have been serving as a provincial governor since the age of eighteen (az sinn-i-hīzdah sālagī). I have never recommended any unsuitable (person) to the Imperial service. If I had, how could so many recommendations of mine have been accepted? No man nominated by me (az tajwīz kardahā'ī-i-īn fidwī) has ever acted but with complete propriety.

It is obvious that the Daroghā of the Ordinance must be competent, (sar-ba-rāhī) devoted to duty, and thoroughly experienced in the science of gunnery. All these qualities,

1. This "fourth campaign" is the third and final siege of Qandahār under Dārā Shikoh, which began on 28 April, 1653, and was lifted on 27 September, 1653, with only vast and fruitless expense to show for it. Aurangzīb counts the conquest and abandonment of Balkh and Badakhshān (1645-1647) as the first in this series of northern campaigns.

2. With no further reference to Ṣafī Khān, Shams ud-dīn is mentioned in Letter 76 as holding this post, in a context suggesting that he was a recent arrival. See the note on Ṣafī Khan's career after Letter 55. There is one letter at least missing here, and surely many others. Letter 76 is datable to August-September 1655, months before Aurangzīb broke off correspondence with his father.

Hoshdār has; he is a first-rate shot (tufangchī-i-awwal ast) (too), and an hereditary servant. Knowing this, I put forward his name. Nothing in his record has ever cast a doubt upon his loyalty and fidelity.

But as it is the sacred will that he not be appointed, I shall, as ordered, give Ṣafī Khān the good news of Your Majesty's gracious solicitude.

However, it will be an arduous task (su'ubatī dārad) to combine these (new) duties with the post of Bakhshī. Deccan jagirs are notoriously unproductive; without resources, such important duties cannot be performed with any enthusiasm.

I hope that (Ṣafī Khān) may receive an increase in rank upon his appointment, so that he may perform with zeal the duties of both offices. Anything that may cast its brilliance upon the heart of angelic penetration in respect to Mīr Aḥmad Rizvī will also be quite suitable.

Hail to the temporal and spiritual qiblah of murids! Your Majesty urged my agent at Court to write (a letter) again and again to me, ordering that I set men everywhere to watch over the mango-crop before the trees began to flower. (I did so; but) there is this year a poor crop of mangoes in the Deccan. In particular, the Pādshāh Pasand (tree) has borne very little fruit; (aṣlan bār niāwarda) a fact which Your Majesty may have learned from the provincial news report. (However), I shall omit no means in my power of sending mangoes to Court.

Mīr Ṣābir, and Multafit Khān's son-in-law (khwesh) Dārāb,<sup>1</sup> who are in Burhānpūr, have received orders (from me) in this business. I have enjoined them most strictly, to consign carefully, by relays of Imperial runners, (maṣhūb-i-ḍāk chaukī-i-Pādshāhī-i-mutawātirī) any mangoes that may be fit for despatch to Your Majesty, and may have been sent to Burhānpūr. I trust they will arrive safely.

May the curtain of the glorious Sultanate remain firmly fixed to the tent-poles of perpetuity and eternity!

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1. This man was a son of Mukhtār Khān. His brother, Mīr Shamsu'd dīn, was given his father's title on Aurangzīb's march north from Burhānpūr; he himself was entitled Dārāb Khān by Aurangzīb, and lived until 1090/1679-80. He left three sons. Ma'āṣiru'l Umarā, II, 40 (text).



LETTER 59

This letter introduces a step which exacerbated relations between Aurangzīb and his father more perhaps than all that had gone before - even the totally unjust recriminations against his failure before Qandahār. Recognising that Aurangzīb's present income did not suffice to meet his obligations, Shāh Jahān moved to alleviate matters; but by placing the responsibility for the necessary re-arrangement of jāgīrs upon Aurangzīb.

The results were soon apparent: the governor (though a prince) had not the authority to effect what the Emperor might, and ought, have done himself; complaints of unfair treatment were carried to Court; and in Letter 72 we find Aurangzīb defending himself against allegations, hardly likely to have been well-founded, that in re-distributing jāgīrs as commanded he had acted un-Islamically.

The account of his method of effecting the re-distribution discloses no injustice, and was not challenged in later letters.

By beginning a somewhat exaggeratedly modest account of his achievements so far with a remark that financial administration was the dīwāns' responsibility, Aurangzīb laid himself open to a swift and sharp rebuke (Letter 60, *infra*) which he labours long to repel.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgements of three royal letters, the last signed by the Emperor, all arriving within the same week (no dates given)

Formal thanks.

The jewelled pen scattered these pearls: "As you have not been managing the Deccan very well (pardākhta ... az qār wāqi' nanamūda) over the last three years, you should have all your salary-producing assignments there, (to encourage you to) make efforts to improve their prosperity. Considering, however, the (present) deficiency (qillat) in the yield of Deccan jāgīrs, and the losses you are likely to suffer, ten crores of dām (Rs. 2,500,000) in cash from the treasury of Mālwa are granted you towards your salary for two years more; the remaining two crores (Rs. 500,000) of your cash salary are to be taken in the form of half the spring crop of the Year of the Horse (qū'ī īl) in the pargana of Nadrbār, (and) from such jāgīrdārs' maḥāls as you may choose."

Hail to the saintly protector! The administration of parganas is the responsibility of the (provincial) dīwāns. They are doing all they can to promote the spread of



cultivation and habitation. I have not entered upon any description of the great efforts I have made, to improve this country in the short time (I have been here). To describe them ('arṣ-i-ān) would have been braggart boasting, a practice with which I have no acquaintance (badīn shewa kamtar ashnā ast). For the same reason I have not allowed the provincial dīwāns to mention my work. Since I regard service to (my) spiritual and temporal preceptor and guide on the same level as obedience to God, (honoured be his name) how could I suffer myself to be lax in striving to improve the Deccan? If this province, long neglected for many reasons, is not restored to its proper state within two or three years, it will not be through indolence or inattention on my part (az ghaflat wa kotāhī nīst).

This year, however, through the fostering care of Your Majesty's generous mind, Diānat Khān has collected nearly one lakh (of dām) (Rs. 2500) above the assessed revenue in most of the parganas of the Bālā Ghāṭ and the Payān Ghāṭ. The dīwāns will have reported this in detail to Your Majesty. God willing, concrete evidence of prosperity will gradually become apparent.

The grant of ten crores of dām (Rs. 2,500,000) in cash from the public treasury of Mālwa is most gracious and comforting to murīds, and a source of distinction and honour to me. In return for this unlimited kindness, I offer the respects due from a murīd, and am petitioning the court of God most high for the grace of expressing my gratitude. May the lofty shadow of Your Majesty's measureless acts of gracious condescension remain for ever over the heads of murīds!

To the luminous mind of the saintly protector, resembling the sun, it is well known that I am little attached (kamtar pardākhta) to vain expenses. Whatever the generosity of the true guide accords me, I spend upon the allowances of the army. Since my appointment here my men have been paid out of my cash assignments. If the amount available were to be reduced, my men would suffer to the extent of the reduction.

Since the Court of the Caliphate has appointed me to govern this noble frontier province, and since I recognise that I bear the heavy responsibility of ruling it in a manner satisfactory to Your sacred Majesty, I would, if I were to choose tuyūldārs' jāgīrs (for myself), take them in lieu of

my cash salary.<sup>1</sup> If there were no (jāgīrs available) in exchange for my (cash) salary, I would be compelled to dismiss (part of) my troops<sup>2</sup> and send them to the Court, the refuge of the world.

The position is, that the presence of a good body of troops in the Deccan is imperative in the interests of the State. If I were given a tan-jāgīr in exchange for the cash pay of my soldiers, it would beyond doubt bring heart-breaking disappointment to every officer; for there are not enough lands reserved for the grant of jāgīrs (paībāqī)<sup>3</sup> left in the Deccan, for me to provide the full pay of any troops attached to me; and I would be obliged to give them poor maḥāls in exchange for productive parganas.

However, anything that may occur upon this matter to the heart of angelic penetration will be bound up with my spiritual and temporal welfare, since I shall place my entire conduct under God's mercy, and the grace of the true guide.

Obedient to the sacred command, I have chosen parcels from maḥāls (both) in the imperial khālīṣa and (in the hands of) tuyūldārs, and am sending (a list separately). I hope, that the courtiers in Your Majesty's confidence (istādhā'ī-i pāya-i sarīr-i khilāfat maṣīr) will bear in mind that I receive a ten months' cash salary, and that holding land in jāgīr involves losses, both through normal expenses and natural calamity. The two crores of dām (Rs. 500,000) granted to me as part of my salary for the khārīf season of the Year of the Horse (qū'ī īl) come from parganas which, after the reduction (takhfīf) which Your Majesty has generously commanded, do not yield even six months' average revenue. I have already<sup>4</sup> mentioned, that the assessment of the parganas of Nadrbār (is based on) the amount collected without any allowance for

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1. At their actual and not their nominal yield.

2. Those whom his reduced salary would make it impossible to pay.

3. Defined by Wilson, as land reserved for granting jagirs-but other purposes too: compare 'Irfan Habib, *Agrarian system*, 258-9, and I.H. Qureshi's *Mughul Administration*, 1966, pp 155-6.

4. This letter appears not to have survived.

natural disaster (waṣūlī-i-bī-afat ast). The calculations made by the Court dīwāns, and laid before Your Majesty, take these allowances into account. A report will be presented, on separate sheets, of the collections of past years in Nadrbār pargana, with the amount collected for 1063, the year of (the introduction of) baṭā'ī. In affairs of this kind, it is impossible to gainsay the written word (khilāf-i-ma'rūz namitawān dāsht).

When Nadrbār was granted to (my) brother Murād Bakhsh, it was assessed at sixty lakhs of dām (Rs. 150,000). It would be the essence of graciousness, to reckon it at the same assessment, as part of my cash salary. If this suggestion is accepted, I shall assign a half share of the spring harvest of Nadrbār to Sazāwār Khān. The spring harvest is always early (pesh ras) in Nadrbār, and very little of it now remains unharvested. Sazāwār Khān has already taken possession of it, and might find it difficult to refund half of it (to me).

I hope that he, too, may receive his salary from the kharīf season. After the details of the salary to be paid from Nadrbār have been worked out, I shall conclude matters relating to Sazāwār Khān in accordance with (whatever) lofty mandate (may be issued): either that he receive jāgīrs commensurate with the scale (of his salary), which I would prefer; (fabiha) or that he be dismissed to the Court, exalted as the sky.

The regulations for branding (zābiṭa-i-dāgh) established through Your Majesty's universal humanity and generosity are bringing better order into the officers' (contingents). I shall act from the outset (as required) by the two exalted farmāns (issued herein).

May the curtain of greatness remain suspended upon the tent-poles of perpetuity!

LETTER 60

The dispute about the mangoes sputters on; Aurangzīb has, in effect, the last word.

Shāh Jahān's rebuke to Aurangzīb for having suggested that the Imperial revenue officials' work is the foundation on which he must build up the prosperity of the Deccan must have been a further exacerbation to the prince's wounded pride. His reply, not without dignity, puts the matter to rest.

Aurangzīb is not so successful in his recommendation that the tributary Rājah of Deogarh be forgiven his arrears of tribute. In 1655 a costly and not very productive expedition was launched against Deogarh; see Letters 77-79, *infra*.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a farman with the imperial signature, in reply to a letter from Aurangzīb (no date given for either letter or reply).

Lengthy formal thanks.

The jewelled pen wrote: No more than four or five consignments of mangoes have arrived from the tree Pādshāh Pasand. Next year, a man shall be deputed from the lofty court, and the mangoes shall be sent under his supervision.

Hail to the saintly preceptor! It is an excellent thought of the happy heart to detail for this duty a servant of the luminous presence. (However), this season they brought me only three mangoes from the tree Pādshāh Pasand, so that I might decide whether or not they were worth sending. All the rest of the crop was despatched direct from the tree to the light-diffusing and sacred court.

The reason why there were so few of these mangoes (*wajah-i-kamī*) has already been reported to Your Majesty from several sources; only one fruiting branch of the tree remains, and strong winds have broken all the other branches. How could I permit mangoes, fit for Your Majesty's table, to be



eaten here?<sup>1</sup>

A noble and lofty command was issued: "It is passing strange (*bisyār badī' namūd*) that you should allege, 'The administration of parganas is the responsibility of the dīwāns' as an excuse for stagnation (*'uzr-i-pesh niyāmadan*) in the Deccan."

Hail to the spiritual and temporal qiblah of murīds! It is true (*agarche ... lekin*) that the Court of the Caliphate has entrusted me with the task of administering and improving the Deccan; but matters of detail are the duty of dīwāns, I cannot myself attend to such things. What I wrote was the truth.

I exert myself far more strenuously in the interests of my true preceptor and guide than in my own. In Your Majesty's service, I strain every nerve, (*jihat wa koshish ba kār mīburd*) and have omitted nothing that could possibly be done to increase the areas of cultivation and habitation in the Deccan.

In any event, whether I am paid my salary in cash, as hitherto, (*ba dastūr-i-sābiq*) or whether jāgīrs be granted to me as a substitute for cash, I shall carry out the obligations of my position, and the duties of a murīd, and shall never allow myself any shortcoming. I have been submitting to your Majesty everything which I consider to be in the interest of the state.

(However), it is certain, that anything which casts the brilliance of its suitability upon Your Majesty's heart of angelic penetration, which is a truth-revealing mirror, will inevitably be wise.

Conformably to the compliance-compelling command, I shall soon send Sazāwār Khān to the Court, the refuge of rulers.

Hail to the ka'bah of the necessities of mankind! An account of past years' unpaid arrears of tribute, owed by the Rājah (*zamīndār*) of Deogarh, has been compiled in a separate document, which will be laid before Your Majesty. The Rājah is a loyal servant, resolutely set upon the road of

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1. Aurangzīb means to refute any suggestion that he might have kept some of these prize mangoes for himself.

devotion. He is obliged to pay (waṣūl bāyad) one lakh of rupees annually to the government, founded in the firmament; but the yield of his territories has now fallen below what it used to be, and he cannot pay all his arrears.

Your Majesty has graciously remitted all the (arrears of) the Rājah of Chānda's tribute; so the Rājah of Deogarh hopes that he, too, might be excused his accumulated arrears. Thus lightened of his burden, (sabukbār gardīda) he would (be enabled to) pay the fixed amount of his tribute to the Imperial treasury every year.

May the world-warming sun of the Caliphate continue to shine from its horizon of glory and grandeur!

LETTER 61

This is a letter demanded by conventional etiquette, and as such contains no official news.

Shāh Jahān's visit to Āgra (Akbarābād) was a very brief one. After the brief demonstration against Rānā Rāj Singh of Mewār late in 1654, the Emperor marched from Ajmīr to Fathpūr Sīkrī, where he halted between 14th and 17th December. On 18th, he visited Āgra, for one day only. The building whose conventional praises Aurangzīb utters is the chaste and disciplined Motī Masjid in the fort at Āgra, which was completed in 1653, and stands in such contrast to Aurangzīb's own, smaller Moti Masjid in the Delhi fort (1659-1664) (Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī (text) 29). In the usual tradition, the Emperor's letter to Aurangzīb and other princes and high grandees would have contained a stylised and ornamental description of his new mosque: the last of his many and splendid buildings.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgements of a royal letter signed by the Emperor, delivered at the beginning of Rabī'I.

There acquired the honour of being written an account of the royal visit to the Fixed Abode of the Caliphate, Akbarābād and of the inspection of the mosque built (in the fort) by royal command; and of the return to the capital, Shāhjahānābād.

The building, which gained the favour of foundation from the architect of sublime resolution, is above the need of praise or eulogy.

May Almighty God long preserve your Majesty to consjtruct (such) elegant buildings for pious purposes! (bānī-i mabānī-i-khairāt) May He keep your Majesty's generous personality associated with the management of the world!

A world-obeyed order has been issued, that I send ten thousand Deccanī steel rockets<sup>1</sup> (bān). Recognising such a command as my good fortune, I shall obey.

May the world-warming sun of the Caliphate's dominion over the universe continue to blaze forth in brilliance from its horizon of perpetuity and eternity!

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1. For despatch to support another seige of Qandahār. The Emperor nurtured hopes of a fourth attempt against that fortress. Had the Bījāpūr campaign of 1657 not intervened, the attempt would probably have been made. Cf Manucci, Storia, I, 237-238.

LETTER 62

The Emperor has demanded steel rockets: Aurangzib hastens to comply. The bān is dealt with by Irvine in his "The Army of the Indian Moghuls", p. 147 ff; he collected some European descriptions and printed them on pp. 149-151 (compare Letter 58). Some of the rockets now sent might have been fired against Aurangzib at Samogarh.

Aurangzib's complaint about the pargana of Ellichpūr illustrates in the clearest way the point that the assessed annual revenue (jama') often exceeded by far the actual collection (hasil). To attempt to classify parganas and maḥāls by the average proportion of the assessment produced in each was only effective if an adjustment was made each year. The jama' of Ellichpūr was clearly pitched too high.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Acknowledgement of a royal letter in response to a letter of Aurangzib's; no date for either given.

Fairly lengthy formal thanks.

I have acted in obedience to the world-obeyed order about the rockets, sending to begin with a thousand true-flying rockets of good quality (bān-i-khūb-i-rāst-raw) to the luminous Presence in the hands of one of the manṣabdārs. Next I shall send them in lots of a thousand (yak yak hazār) by the same method, whenever the occasion offers.

A sacred order was issued: "Few elephants, whether male or female, are reaching the Court, the asylum of the world, from Bengal and Orissa. Qutbūl Mulk sends eight lakhs of rupees to the sublime court each year; arrange (muqarrar kunad) for him to give half the total in elephants instead of cash."<sup>1</sup>

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1. The treaty of 1636 provided for tribute to be paid to the viceroy of the Deccan, or such prince as should be named.



Hail to the saintly protector, the guide of pure heart! Your Majesty knows the true facts of the revenue and expenses of the Deccan from previous reports. Yet I have written to Qutbu'l Mulk out of obedience to the compliance-compelling mandate, telling him to send (me) four lakhs of rupees in cash, and four lakhs' (worth) of male and female elephants.

The gracious increase of (my) brother Murād Bakhsh's mansab, and his promotion to (be governor of) the province of Gujarāt, has raised the hopes of all the other murīds. How can one discharge the obligations of gratitude for Your Majesty's incalculable favours? May God (honoured be his power) preserve for many years the spreading shadow of the true preceptor and guide, so that out of his perfect condescension he might, through various kinds of attention and graciousness, and different sorts of advice and admonition, confer distinction upon murīds.

Hail to the murīd-cherishing guide! A letter of my agent at Court (the centre of the world) has just disclosed, that on the subject of the pargana of Ellichpūr it fell from the sacred tongue, that I took it of my own free will; why should I complain (dīgar guft-o-gū chīst) now that its assessed revenue (jama') has fallen off?

Hail to the qiblah and ka'bah of murids! Repeated orders came from the luminous Presence, that if I were to take several maḥāls from tuyūldārs in exchange for cash, my salary would be ensured by making a suitable assessment (of their revenue)<sup>1</sup>. So, from the parganas of Shāh Beg Khān, I asked for the pargana of Ellichpūr. A true report of its actual collections was sent to the Court of the Caliphate under the seal of Multafit Khān the dīwān, (saying that) a reduction should be made (in the assessed revenue) with a view to avoiding any loss in relation to the ten months' cash scale that might result from any natural calamity.

If it be the will of the happy nature, that notwithstanding its (present receipts) being deficient by about two lakhs of rupees, I should take this pargana at its former assessed

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1. See letter 59, supra.

revenue, than, as the life and property of murīds is consecrated to your Majesty, what else can I do but obey?

Hail to the qiblah of the hopes, and the ka'bah of the safety of mankind! Shāh Beg Khān was once commandant of the fort of Ahmadnagar, which is close to the frontier. He would like to be appointed again. Were a lofty order to be issued to that effect, I would retain the khānazād Mirzā Khān<sup>1</sup> for some time with me.

May the world-warming sun of the Caliphate continue to ride in brilliance upon the horizon of grandeur and pomp!

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1. Called a khānazād, "household-born", because of his descent. He was a grandson of 'Abdu'l Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān (c.1557-1628) and a great-grandson of Akbar's famous wazīr Bairam Khān (c.1515-1561). See the brief note to Letter 70 (infra).

LETTER 63

Unspoken in Aurangzīb's mild reply to the Emperor's sharp rebuke for his "abandonment" of Ellichpūr pargana is the fact he has often mentioned: that he, as governor of the frontier province of the Deccan, is obliged to find out of his salary not only the costs of provincial administration, but also the expenses of frontier defence. Ellichpūr, being a run-down pargana - indeed, even in 1655 it was returning only eight months' value of its assessment, as can be seen from a letter of Aurangzīb to Mīr Jumla as wazīr late in 1656 (I.O. 114 b, B.M. 103a) - could not provide what Aurangzīb needed: full and certain payment of his salary.

The remainder of the letter is interesting evidence of the Emperor's minute care for questions of personnel. Mirzā Khan was closely connected with the Imperial house: he must not be superseded lightly, even though wanting in capacity. Jalāl Kākar is suggested as jāgīrdār of Ellichpūr; but does the Emperor realise that he is only a soldier, with no administrative experience? To justify the appointment of Rāo Karan, Aurangzīb marshals facts likely to impress the Emperor; in this case, they do not. (Letter 64, *infra*).

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Acknowledgement of two farmāns, signed by the  
Emperor in reply to a letter of Aurangzīb;  
no dates given for either.

Briefest possible formal thanks.

The sacred order was issued: "From the commencement of the rabī' season of the seventh cyclic year, (yūnt īl)<sup>1</sup> you will receive cash in lieu of the pargana of Ellichpūr. The responsibility for increasing the prosperity of the Deccan is yours; your abandoning Ellichpūr is a measure of your success.

Hail to the true qibla! I have never claimed credit for any of my acts. All I have done, or am doing, is the effect of the instruction and counsel of the murīd-cherishing guide. However, a pargana whose (actual) yield has been below the norm for eight years can hardly be restored to prosperity in a season or two.

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1. Nadwī reads yū'it nīl, and offers from his manuscript S, derived from I.O., the even less intelligible lūlat bīl. I.O. is quite clear, however, even to the hamza in yunt. The reference is to the harvest gathered in the spring season of 1064 (March and April, 1654).

A world-obeyed mandate acquired the grace of issue:  
 "As you asked, Mīrzā Khān has been removed ('azl shuda) from his charge of the fort of Aḥmadnagar; but you must submit reasons for transferring him. Appoint Shāh Bēg Khān in his place. The appointment of an intelligent man, capable of improving the prosperity of Ellichpur, is imperative; so give Ellichpūr to Jalāl Kākar or to Multafit Khān, in lieu of cash salary, and suggest a (proper) increase in the rank of the one who takes it."

Hail to this murīd's spiritual and temporal qiblah and ka'bah! My ground for transferring Mīrzā Khān is exactly the one which cast its brilliance upon the heart of angelic penetration. When I realised that the Court of the Caliphate had formed a clear opinion upon his capacity, I did not trouble to expatiate upon (my own views). Since he is a khānazād, I thought it proper that he should be at my side, (pesh-i-khwud) and I petitioned accordingly.

I have appointed Shāh Beg Khān to Aḥmadnagar, and I shall comply with the universe-obeyed order upon the salary-producing jagirs assigned to him and to Mīrzā Khān.

Jalāl Kākar is a mere soldier (sipāhī şirf) and has no experience of extending cultivation. Two or three months (ago), therefore, I appointed him faujdār of Punar, on the frontier with Deogarh; this will doubtless have been reported to Your Majesty in the Deccan news-letters.<sup>1</sup>

Multafit Khān is in the midst of introducing the system of bata'i in the Payān Ghāt, and the proposal (of removing him to Ellichpūr) is unacceptable to him. I have therefore postponed the entrusting of the pargana of Ellichpūr to either of them, (until Your Majesty's further pleasure shall be known).

The manṣab of Rāo Karan has been reduced by 500 zat and 500 supplementary sawār. His capacity for enlarging the areas under cultivation is, however, manifest from his

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1. And thus Jalāl Kākar vanishes from the Ādab-i-'Ālamgīrī. He most probably was an Afghān - an example of the fact that both Shāh Jahān and Aurangzib were ready to appoint Afghāns to administrative posts as well as to the command of forts, if it suited them. Generally, the rule was as stated by Manucci (II, 446) "... Paṭhāns are never allowed to hold any of these fortresses, for fear they might plot some treason ..."



handling of the pargana of Kāndāpūr, once in his jāgīr but now transferred. The 500 zāt and 500 (supplementary) sawar, by which his rank was reduced, might be restored; and the (supplementary) sawār be made dū aspah sih aspah for the duration of his service in Ellichpūr (to which I hope he will be appointed). He could take Ellichpūr to meet the requirements of an increase in rank, and could give up the pargana of Posad,<sup>1</sup> in Berar, which he holds as tan-(jāgīr). Any (maḥāls) in Ellichpūr which are left over (after paying Rāo Karan's salary) might be assigned to other servants skilled in promoting prosperity. Ellichpūr has the capacity (to pay Rāo Karan's increased salary and more).

But anything decreed by the world-adorning will the principal decoration of the state, will be the essence of fitness.

In accordance with the lofty order, I have told the mutaṣaddīs to choose, from the seventy-six rocketeers (bāndār)<sup>2</sup> now in the various Deccan forts, forty to begin with, and to send them straight away to the sublime Court. When (more) good rocketeers come to hand, and substitutes for them (are available) for retention (here), the mutaṣaddīs are to send fifty more (to Court).

Rustam, the brother of Īraj Khān,<sup>3</sup> desires leave to prostrate himself at the threshold of the Caliphate. He explains that he was summoned to the Court, the refuge of the world, to accompany his brother; in his zeal, he hopes to perform some useful service.

To have on hand such men as he is essential for the regular needs of this province. I should like an order issued, that he remain here; otherwise, I shall dismiss him (to Court).

Hail to the true preceptor and guide! Before the delivery of the royal letter<sup>4</sup> I was distinguished and elevated

1. Compare Letter 69, where Aurangzīb suggests that until he pays the assessments laid upon him, the revenues of Posad be resumed. Posad is on the river Pus, about 50 miles N.W. of Nāndir. For a reference to Rāo Karan's nomination, see Letter 69, *infra*.

2. Compare Letter 58, *supra*. Aurangzīb seems to use deg andāz and bāndār interchangeably.

3. Īraj Khān, who took Dārā's side in 1658 and died in 1684, is treated in M.U. I, 268-271 (text). Mīrzā Rustam became faujdār of Sangamner, and was given the title of Ghazanfar Khān by Aurangzīb; M.U. III 87 (text) s.v. their father Qizilbāsh Khān.

4. It is uncertain which is meant.

by the arrival, in the hands of Muḥammad Nāṣir, superintendent of the (Imperial) karkhāna at Burhānpūr, of a special robe of honour, which had been presented to me for the winter. I received it with the proper ceremony<sup>1</sup> and forthwith gave him leave to go. I have strictly enjoined Multafit Khān, that he should make every endeavour to ensure, that the karkhāna's urgent needs are met.<sup>2</sup>

May the world-warming sun of the Caliphate continue to shine upon the heads of men!

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1. Sc., by going out to meet the messenger (istiqbāl).

2. Sc., of the materials necessary to manufacture the articles of luxury in demand at Court; such, for example, as shela cloth from Shāhgarh in Bīr pargana, (Letter 54, supra) which might have been further worked in the karkhānas with thread of gold.

3. Sc., by going out to meet the messenger (istiqbāl).

## LETTER 64

Superficially, the Emperor's rejection of Rāo Karan's nomination to an administrative post seems to suggest that Shāh Jahān disliked Rājput̃s, or at least had a low opinion of Rāo Karan of Bikanīr. The first is not supported by other evidence; the second is belied by the steady shower of distinctions Shāh Jahān rained upon the Rāo's head (Ma'āşiru'l Umarā, II, 287-291). It is as an administrator that Shāh Jahān doubts his capacity, as Aurangzīb's deprecation of the difficulties of managing the pargana of Ellichpūr admits. Indeed, he seems almost to make the recommendation in a spirit of defiance - I know everyone says I don't like Rājput̃s, so I recommend one for a post I know you won't give him.

From Shāh Jahān's animadversions upon Aurangzīb's delay in sending cloth to Court it may be inferred, that the princes were obliged to make offerings of the produce of the kārkhānas they were allowed to maintain to supply their own establishments. It is doubtful whether any such would have existed independently of the great manufacturing cities (among which Burhānpūr was conspicuous) and they would normally have been managed by agents on the prince's behalf; as Jahānārā's most certainly were. The only remedy for the "shortage of workmen" would have been civil conscription. François Bernier graphically depicts the grinding tyranny under which skilled men were held down, and points to the demoralising consequences.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Acknowledgement of a royal letter signed by the  
Emperor, in reply to a letter from Aurangzīb.  
Neither dated.

Short formal thanks.

The lofty command acquired the elegance of issue: "To entrust the pargana of Ellichpūr to the likes of the Rājput̃ Rāo Karan would not be suitable (munāsib nadāsht). That charge is now made over to Asadu'llāh the son of Rashīd Khān,<sup>1</sup> (since) the work must be given to someone who will discharge it well" (ki az 'uhda tawānad barāmad).

Hail to the true preceptor and guide! The decision of the heart of angelic penetration is the essence of fitness. With all my faults, how can I attain a level of understanding equal to Your Majesty's? However, Ellichpūr requires no more

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1. Rashīd Khān Anşārī, who died in Shāh Jahān's 22nd year (1649) as governor of Telingāna. His brother, Hādīdād Khān, (of whom more hereafter) succeeded him with the rank of 2500/1500) M.U. (tr.) 597; III 303-305 (text). For Rashīd Khān himself, "a strong Hanafī and without peer in his knowledge of history", see M.U. II 242-250 (text).

at present than the usual work of a jāgīrdār, and (the usual) efforts to extend revenue-paying cultivation. Since I am falsely accused (*mutahhim ast*) at Court of emnity to the Rajputs, I set down the facts of the reduction of Rāo Karan's manṣab, and of his ability to encourage cultivation, (*ābādān kārī*) as I had observed and been told of them.

With his present rank and following, Asadu'llāh is not fit even to (officiate as) governor of Berār; (yet) I have sent him to Ellichpūr in conformity with the sacred order, and have sent (his brother) Ilhāmu'llāh<sup>1</sup> to Chāndōr. Their jāgīrs will be arranged as settled in the text of the lofty farmān.

An account of the salary-producing jāgīrs (*tankhwāh tuyūl*) of Shāh Beg Khān and Mīrzā Khān, (showing them to have been) conferred as determined will reach your Majesty on a separate sheet.

The pen, tracing lines of bliss, wrote: "The lengths of cloth which you are preparing (for the Court) in Burhānpūr must be sent quickly."

In what language shall I return thanks for this gracious consideration towards servants? My failure to earn nobility (by sending cloth earlier) arose from a scarcity of workmen. Most of the skilled weavers in Burhānpūr are (employed) in the imperial karkhāna, or in that of Nawāb Begam Ṣāhib Jīu, and the work of the men in my karkhāna is not of an excellence to satisfy your Majesty (*kār-i-ānhā shāyistagī-i-pasand-i aqdas nadāsht*). (However), I shall send some of the cloth which was completed upon Naṣīra's arrival.

The pearl-set pen, scattering jewels, wrote: "It is strange, that you set your dīwān in charge of Burhānpūr, and have appointed none (in his place) as dīwān."

Hail to the qiblah of the two worlds! The reasons for my delay herein are minutely explained in a letter I wrote to my agent at Court, the centre of the world, in answer to a letter by order he had earlier sent me on this matter, and will have come to Your Majesty's notice. On the 22nd of Rajab

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1. This man rose to 1000/500 under Shāh Jahān, and must have been regarded as efficient and meritorious; for when his uncle Hādīdād Khān died after the Golconda campaign of 1656, he was preferred as successor to his uncle's property (which seems not to have been escheated) to all his thirty cousins: M.U. (tr.) 597: text, III, 303-305.



the revered, I appointed Ziyā'u'd-dīn Husain<sup>1</sup> to serve me as dīwān. He was once my Mīr Bakhshī, and later was posted in Ellichpūr.

May the world-warming sun of the Caliphate continue to shine for many years from the horizon of grandeur and glory!

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1. He is styled "dīwān-i-sarkār-i 'alā" in a document of 22 February, 1656, recommending manṣabs for deserters from Qutbu'l Mulk: Selected Documents of Shāh Jahān's Reign, p. 202. He also appears fourth last in the list of entitulations appended to the letters: B.M. fo. 245A; I.O. fo 298A.

## LETTER 65

Branding is said to have been introduced by 'Alāu'd dīn Muḥammad Shāh (1296-1316) and by Sher Shāh Sūr (1538-1545); but neither scheme appears to have survived its author. Akbar (1556-1605) was the first to impose a thorough-going scheme; resentment against it was one of the ingredients in the disturbances of 1580-81. In essence, it was a measure of control essential to the operation of the maṇṣabdārī system, which had taken shape in the 1570's. Each maṇṣabdār was expected to maintain out of his salary a number of mounted troopers, fixed by reference to his personal status, military capacity, and standing in the Emperor's eyes. Each trooper was entered in a descriptive roll; so was his horse; to prevent improper substitution, and to ensure that each was branded. As the empire sunk into inanity in the early eighteenth century, the relaxation of these once strict requirements was one of the visible symptoms of decay.

The principle survived until the early 1920's, when the Indian army disbanded its last "silladari" (silāhdārī) units of cavalry. Tactically, it had a profound weakness: a trooper who owned his own horse was unlikely to hazard its life in combat unless sure of a replacement at little cost and inconvenience to himself; no more would a commander replace his men's fallen or foundered horses, unless the funds were provided.

Aurangzīb's exposition of the effect of reducing the trooper's allowances is of classic clarity. Subsequent correspondence (particularly Letters 71 and 75) shows that the defects he delineates were only partly remedied.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Brief formal salutations.

In obedience to the sacred orders, the Khān, the model of felicity, has sent official hand-books, (afṛād-i-dastūru'l 'amal) containing the new regulations lately promulgated at Court upon the branding (of horses), to each of the mutaṣaddis of the Deccan. The difficulties and hardships (caused by enforcing them) have been mentioned frequently in (recent) news-letters and may perhaps have come to Your Majesty's notice. No reply upon (any of) these matters has yet been vouchsafed to me by the Court of grandeur and glory.

Despite my directions that the new regulations be put into effect forthwith, nobody has obeyed them (az hich kas ba'amal niyāmada) except the provincial mutaṣaddīs; mindful of the (Imperial) command, they have implemented them from the beginning of the third part of the spring season of the eighth cyclic year (az ibtadā'i-i-ṣulṣ-i-kharīf-i-īlān īl).<sup>1</sup>

The (new) regulations have produced distress in the army and caused (further) accumulation of arrears, which (even in ordinary circumstances) are difficult to collect (afzūnī-i-muṭāliba-i mut'azziru't taḥṣīl būd).

1. Nadwī reads salmān īl!

These four provinces of the Deccan - a great stretch of territory which Your Majesty has been pleased to place in my care - are not to be compared with Bengal and Gujarāt (nisbatī ba šūbah-i-Bangāla wa Gujarāt nadārad),<sup>1</sup> because they adjoin the territories of two rulers who possess copious treasuries, and large armies.

For these reasons,<sup>2</sup> I thought it necessary to write on this point (dar īn wādī) lest I be saddled in future (ṣānīu'l ḥāl) with accusations of neglect and incompetence.

Hail to the saintly protector! It is (no doubt) clear to the luminous mind, that the (military) force actually present in this province cannot discharge with ease even the task of managing its own tuyūl maḥāls while the rulers of Bījāpūr and Golconda (duniyādārān-i-Dakan) have vast armies. The new regulations may increase the quality of (our) army; but they will hardly attain the necessary quality (kaifīyat ki maṭlūb ast aṣlan namīmānd).

Because (chī) the servicemen's pay is to be reduced from 20 to 17 or 15 rupees, as required by the new regulation; because the cavalry is to be increased by about nine thousand above its former strength, while the jāgīrs of most of the mansabdārs remain below the three months' scale; then it will soon become clear that the horses of such men, drawing so miserable a salary, will be in a wretched condition, and useless

1. Mu'īnūl Ḥaq translates: (p. 47) "a province which, besides being extensive in territory, is, unlike the Subahs of Bengal or Gujarāt, situated on the frontiers of two Rulers who have large treasuries and forces". Compare also Aurangzīb I, 174. Now the grammar will not bear this. "Ke wilāyat-i-kalānī ast" is parenthetical to "'Alā ḥazrat ... īn chahār šūbah-i-Dakan-rā ..ba īn murīd tafwīz farmūda and," and qualifies the description of the "great charge", "noble province", etc, with which Aurangzīb has been honoured. The thing which for the purposes of his present argument distinguishes it from Bengal and Gujarāt is not its size, but the enemy at the gate. Compare Letter 68, where a financial statement is submitted.

2. Sc., 1. disobedience; 2. discontent; 3. difficulty in collecting revenue, hard enough to get in already; 4. dangerous neighbours.

for any worth-while service.<sup>1</sup> (paida ast ki in nau'-i-mardum ki badīn qalīl-i-naukar bāshad, hāl-i-aspan-i-ishan che khwāhad būd, wa az ānhā che kār khwāhad kashūd?)

Before the new regulations<sup>2</sup> (pesh az īn) (the manṣabdārs) were paid on a three months' salary scale (ḥiṣṣa-i-zāt-rā sih māhī ... tankhwāh mīyāftand) they also got ten per cent (dah-yak) extra for the expenses of administering their parganas, and a further payment of thirty-two rupees a month for each cavalryman (they maintained in their contingents). Yet most of them have still neither brought in their horses for branding, nor mustered their men; so (already), on account of their inability to comply with the (old orders upon) branding and muster, (muṭāliba-i-tafāwut-i-dāgh wa taṣhīḥa) large amounts of arrears have been entered (as outstanding) (ṣabt gashta) in the registers of this province against every man.

But now, they are going to be paid on a scale of one month or two months. What will happen to them is only too obvious, (zāhir ast, ki ba-zāt-i-ānhā che khwāhad rasīd) especially at a time when the system of baṭā'ī has been introduced, and the expenses of administering parganas have been doubled (du chandān shuda) because the grain (in which the peasants now pay their dues) has to be collected and stored (ba taqrib-i-muḥāfiẓat-i-ghallāt).

Yet an exalted farmān has been issued, peremptorily requiring outstanding amounts to be collected; one quarter of the assessed income is to be taken from most jāgīrs, and one fifth or one sixth from many others. After this demand is met, they will have nothing left. How will they maintain their contingents? Conditions are not always peaceful; it might happen (yaḥtamal ki) that one day (gāhī) strong contingents will be urgently needed.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār (I, 174-5) expresses the point: "a horseman who got less than Rs 20 a month could not possibly keep himself in proper fighting trim." Mu'īnu'l Ḥaq cribs these words without acknowledgement (p. 47) but in quoting the actual words seems to recognise that literal translation would impair the force of Aurangzīb's contention.

2. Omitting ba wujūd-i ān ki, and carrying it to the next sentence but one.

3. Sc., against rebellious, fractious or disorderly subjects; or (as was soon to happen) against Quṭb Shāh and 'Ādil Shāh. Mu'īnu'l Ḥaq (48) paraphrases thus: "This was a great risk because the Provincial Government needed adequate forces to maintain law and order." In the Deccan, Mughul policy required more than that.



It would be conducive (ba'īd nakhwāhad būd) to the welfare of the eternal State if your Majesty would give personal attention to this matter, and command those who manage the business of the luminous Court to apply their minds to the essential facts (ba ma'āl-i-kār nazr andākhta) and concentrate on finding a solution.

But of course (dīgar) anything decreed by the kingdom-adorning mind, brilliant as the sun, is the essence of propriety.

Hail to the qiblah of slaves' safety, and the ka'bah of their desires! Ilhāmu'llāh, the son of Rashīd Khān, has been sent to Chāndor, as ordered, and I have despatched Asadu'llāh to Ellichpūr.<sup>1</sup>

Since Asadu'llāh is an hereditary servant, experienced and worthy; and since he has been honoured with an important post, it would be a great distinction and encouragement if, out of solicitude for the most insignificant beings, he were to be graciously awarded a title.

May the world-warming sun of the Caliphate continue to shine upon the heads of murīds and slaves!

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1. See Aurangzīb's remarks on Asadu'llāh's scanty following in Letter 64, *supra*. Recognising that Rāo Karan will not be appointed to Ellichpūr, he adapts himself to the new situation, and solicits a title for his supplanter; thus he might expect Asadu'llāh's gratitude and support. In the modern Amraotī district of Berār, there are two Chāndors. One is the headquarters of the ta'lūq and lies on the main railway from Nāgpūr to Bombay. The other is a little south and west, on the other side of the railway, and was called Chāndor Bāzār because of its weekly market. Compare Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. X, p. 170. It seems that neither Chāndor had any remains of a fort.

## LETTER 66

Aurangzib's consolidation and transfer of his jāgīrs, elaborated in the first paragraphs of this letter, were soon to draw him into a most bitter wrangle with his father.

The account of the capricious and inconsequential conduct of Uzbek Khān is amusing, and even instructive; more interesting is the man Aurangzīb successfully nominated to replace him, Khwāja Barkhwurdār. He is the only Naqshbandī mentioned in the prince's correspondence with his father. Aurangzīb was well aware of the importance of Ausā, which had been captured late in 1636 from the fragmented Nizām Shāhī kingdom of Aḥmadnagar by Rashīd Khān Anṣārī, the father of the Ilhāmu'llāh of these letters, and brother of Hādīdād Khān. About sixty miles northwest of Culbarga, it dominated that quarter of Qutbu'l Mulk's domains.

The first paragraph, however, is the most significant part of the letter. The Emperor has allowed Aurangzīb to select good jāgīrs for himself, but vitiates the favour by putting the responsibility of removing the existing jāgīrdārs, and finding them fresh but inferior jāgīrs, upon Aurangzīb himself. Deprived of the support of direct Imperial orders in carrying out a policy he knows to be unwise, Aurangzīb remonstrates. His doubts are soon confirmed by the Emperor in Letter 72 (infra); but in a matter quite unexpected.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Briefest formal introduction.

The descriptive roll of my jāgīrs (daul-i-jāgīr) was laid before Your Majesty when I was being sent to the Deccan, and I was commanded: "If you find on arrival parganas more productive than your own maḥāls in the hands of any local jāgīrdār, you are at liberty to exchange them if you wish."

Even though the order was so plain, I recollected how the welfare<sup>1</sup> of the state (depended upon) keeping high-ranking and experienced officers happy and contented and decided that it would be unbecoming (in me) to take their jāgīrs even by way of exchange.<sup>2</sup> (So) I confirmed all of them in possession of their jāgīrs, and satisfied myself with

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1. The manuscripts have nazr ba intizām-i-muhimmat-i-mulki. Nadwī reads ihtimām for intizam, which might justify an alteration to "I recollected my duty to watch carefully over the interests of the state and to keep ...." Nadwī's note shows that Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār's copy from I.O. reads intizām; and that his B (a bad text) omits the word entirely.

2. A list of jagirs held by Aurangzīb at the conclusion of his first vice-royalty is printed in Selected Documents of Shāh Jahān's Reign, 121-2(text) 123-4 (translation). It is dated 25 June, 1644, a month after his dismissal.

the maḥāls granted me by the glorious court as tan (jāgīr).

But I was soon convinced that several officers did not deserve to hold the jāgīrs they did. If when they were transferred from their posts (az taghaiyur) certain maḥāls were to be resumed into my own jagīr, there would be no manner of loss to the government, founded in the firmament.

Accordingly I have exchanged infertile and unproductive maḥāls, (nominally) yielding altogether one crore and twenty-seven odd lakhs of dam, (Rs. 317,500 odd) with (men) who could be compensated in various other ways. I have sent a separate account (of these exchanges) to the Court, exalted as the sky, so that the senior dīvāns might lay it before your Imperial Majesty, and (then) send (cash) salaries (to the dispossessed jāgīrdārs).

Now sanads have reached me, indicating that the exchange of some maḥāls has not been approved; (but, while) some of the less productive parganas (I proposed to exchange) are still in their original hands, (ba ḥāl māndah) many of my former maḥāls (which I am now expected to take back) have had their assessments reduced.

Hail to the true preceptor and guide! The exchanges might have been denied sanction on the assumption that the receipts from my jāgīr are (already) high (enough) (maẓanna-i-afzūn-i-ḥāṣil). Now the total receipts of my jāgīrs in the Deccan, including the maḥāls I exchanged, do not exceed the eight months' salary scale. The one crore and twenty-seven dams' worth, of which I divested myself by exchange (ke mu'āwāḍa shuda) are on a scale of nine months, or even more. A separate report upon this has been sent to my agent at the sublime Court, and will have been read in the august assembly. Should there be any doubt (shubha) of (my statement) of the receipts, it might be ordered that all maḥāls taken in exchange by me, whose yield is calculated on a scale of nine months or more, should be resumed into the imperial khālīṣa, and that I be granted cash in lieu, on the eight months' scale. I shall thus be enabled to refrain from constantly troubling Your Majesty with petitions and requests on such trifling matters.

Hail to this murīd's spiritual and temporal qiblah and ka'bah! When reports of Uzbek Khan's decaying sight, advancing



age, and general feebleness (zu'af-i-baṣr wa pīrī wa nā-tawānī) reached Your Majesty, it was ordered that I should summon him and investigate the situation myself. Having called him before me, I told the news-writer my own impression of his physical condition, and directed him to enter my exact words (bī kam wa ziyāda) in his official records.<sup>1</sup>

Since no definite order had been issued about him, and it was unwise to leave a frontier fort without a commandant, I sent him back to Ausā to await the receipt of a lofty command. Meanwhile, the local news-writer reported that he had done several things not consonant with his duty as commandant; (ba'z amūr-i-munāfi'-i-qil'adārī az ū wuqū' miāyad) I told Ṣafī Khān to write him a letter of advice and warning. His reply was a request for leave to resign his post, and to give up his jāgīr (izhār-i-istighfār az khidmat wa jāgīr). Full details will have reached Your Majesty in the news-letters. I might add that a great many peasants from his jāgīr have sought redress against his harsh and tyrannical practices (az dast-i-jaur wa ta'addī-i-ū dād-khwāh shudand). If permitted, I would like to place Khwāja Barkhwurdār in charge of Ausā, with an increase of rank of 500 zāt and sawār for the duration of his service, and giving him all Uzbek Khān's maḥāls and tuyūls as his jāgīr. He is a trustworthy and experienced officer, whose present rank is 1500

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1. What Aurangzīb actually wrote would have been separately submitted. He cannot have been far advanced in senile decay, as he marched to Court and was sent to a new post in Gujarāt, when he died two years later.

It was Aurangzīb who had brought Nazr Beg to the Deccan, and had him raised to the rank of 2000/2000, exalted by the title of Uzbek Khān, and appointed to Ausā, during his first viceroyalty, in 1640-41. Apparently he had remained there ever since.

(Ma'āṣiru'l Umarā, (text), I, 195 (last line) - 196.) The author gives this character of him: "He was direct in discourse, and devoted to ease; he delighted to drink wine and listen to melodies and music. While he certainly kept up his military contingent to the prescribed level, he spent foolishly and frivolously; at the end of every year, there was nothing left out of the income from his tuyūls. He always used to say: "If anything is left when I die, I would prove myself a sinner" ('asī basham).

Perhaps it was by his exactions upon the peasants that he was enabled to sustain so cheerfully this jovial style of life.



zāt and sawār.<sup>1</sup> However, anything which may cast its brilliance upon the heart of angelic penetration will be the essence of propriety.

May the world-illumin<sup>in</sup>g sun of the Caliphate continue to shine in the orient sky of the Sultanate until the Last Day!

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1. "He was a Naqshbandī Khwājazāda" who gained early notoriety by being whipped for marrying without Jahāngīr's leave a daughter of Mahābat Khān Madāru's sultānah. This apparently occurred in 1625-26. He betook himself to Shāh Jahān in the Deccan with that nobleman just before Jahāngīr's death in 1627, and his rise under Shāh Jahān is thus recorded:

1st year: 1000/500;      8th year: 1500/800  
23rd year: 1500/1500

The increase solicited by Aurangzīb, and the appointment as qila'dār of Ausā, were approved: Ma'āşiru'l Umarā (text) II, 206. Aurangzīb at the beginning of his reign created him Ashraf Khān; in the second year (1659-60) he called him to court; "the year of his death is unknown" (ibid, 207).

As a Naqshbandī, he may perhaps have had some slight connection with Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī and his successors.

LETTER 67

This letter is important for two reasons; it shows the vigilance the Emperor exercised in supervising the succession of the tributary Hindu chiefs, and it introduces Mīr Jumla, the final stages of whose spectacular career so decisively affected the rising fortunes of Aurangzīb. Never a chance did Aurangzīb let slip to seduce the Mīr to Mughul service, and scatter confusion upon his present master in Gōlconda and his would-be employer in Bījāpūr; but, as we shall see, the Mīr was not above playing one off against the other.

The care taken to ensure that the successor of the deceased Rāja was acceptable to the leading members of his clan and to other Rājputs before submitting his name to the Emperor for confirmation illustrates the prudence with which the Mughuls conciliated their tributaries, while at every point they asserted their suzerainty over them.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!  
Briefest conventional salutations

Repeated requests for relief have been made (mukarrar ... istighāṣa namūdand) by the peasants of the pargana of Trimbak,<sup>1</sup> (suffering under) the injustice and oppression of Darvesh Beg Qāqshāl. He was warned to abandon his tyrannical practices, but in vain; (mufīd niyāmad) so I have given his offices of qila'dār and faujdār of Trimbak to Shafqatu'llāh, the son of Sazāwār Khān.<sup>2</sup> Shafqatu'llāh is an experienced khānazād, and his manners are agreeable (bā-salūk). I propose an increase of 100 zāt and sawār in his rank, making it altogether 700 zāt and 400 sawār. If approval is given, I shall formally dismiss him to his post; if not, let somebody else be appointed.

Hail to the true preceptor and guide! Rāja Sangrām, Raja of Jammū and faujdār of Jāmūd and Mānjrūd, is dead

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1. Manuscripts have Trimbak; Ch. reads Trimbīk, but notes, without comment, the correcter reading of the manuscripts. The editors of M.U. note, in the article cited below, readings in their manuscripts: Tarbang, Tarbak and Tirang. They select the first.

2. This was apparently his first appointment. He got his father's title in Aurangzīb's first year, and died in 1685-86. M.U. II, (text) 440-441. The appointment was soon modified: See Letter 87, *infra*.

(taṣadduq-i-farq-i-mubārak shuda).<sup>1</sup> His son died (guḏashta) before him, his grandson Sārangdhar, an experienced khānazād, (survives).

As he is the issue of the eldest son, his paternal uncles (sons of the late rāja), Rāo Karan and other Rājput̃s serving in the Deccan have jointly asked that he succeed his grandfather (ke jā-nishīn-i-padar-i-kalān-i-ū bāshad). If the succession of Sārangdhar to Sangrām's gaddī is approved at Court, then the manṣab of himself and his uncles might be settled in terms of (the suggestion) which will be put before Your Majesty in the news-letters. They could perform the duties of the post which Sangrām used to hold; and then Sangrām's contingent would be kept together.

Hail to the qiblah of the necessities of murīds! It has long been known, from the letters of our secret agents (harkārḥā'ī) at Golconda, and of our ambassador there, that Quṭbu'l Mulk has come to suspect the loyalty (mutawahhim gashta) of his commandant Muḥammad Sa'īd, entitled Mīr Jumla, and intends to arrest him. Mīr Jumla in turn has come to know of these moves; with elegant and insubstantial excuses (ba laṭā'ifu'l ḥail-i-khwud)<sup>2</sup> he is (successfully) preserving himself from that danger.

All these facts will have been read in the sublime assembly, from the copies of our secret agents' letters entered in the official news reports; and likewise the letters of Abdu'l-Latīf, our ambassador at Golconda, will have passed under the luminous gaze.

It has now transpired (ba-waḏūḥ ānjāmīd) that Mīr Jumla has been detaching himself from Quṭbu'l Mulk, and has no real wish (aṣlan rāḏī nīst) to present himself before him. So Quṭb ul Mulk has raised the veil from the face of the affair, and is doing all he can to seize him, and ruin him.

I have written to our ambassador that since Muḥammad Sa'īd Mīr Jumla is known to have cherished firm sentiments of devotion and submission towards the Court, the refuge of

1. A note on this phrase appears in Letter 47.

2. Jagadīsh Narāyan Sarkār paraphrases: "arts of finesse and tricks of diplomacy": "Life of Mir Jumla", 65.

rulers, he should at this juncture be conciliated by various gestures of imperial kindness, so that he might acquire spiritual guidance by becoming a slave of the glorious Court. Were he to enjoy the happiness of receiving that grace, what a great chance for him! (zihe t̤āli'-i-ū!)

May the extensive shadow of the Caliphate remain spread over the heads of the inhabitants of the known world!



LETTER 68

The financial statement given in this letter is set out in running prose, and one amount has been omitted: the income from the imperial khalisa, which by making up the difference between the two sums of annual tribute and the total given can be established at the modest figure of Rs. 2,40,000.

Financial stringency was the root of Shāh Jahān's complaints, and Aurangzīb's difficulties, in the Deccan. This letter provides the only complete statement of the overall situation surviving in the correspondence. The facts are irrefutable; and yet Aurangzīb himself in his obstinate old age campaigned for a quarter of a century in the Deccan, expecting it to support his swarming army and a horde of camp-followers. After the kingdom of Golconda was shattered, and its lands annexed, we hear no more of its overflowing prosperity, its fantastic deposits of treasure, and its mines of diamonds.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Briefest possible conventional salutations.

Herewith is a statement of the annual receipts and disbursements of the (four) provinces of the Deccan:

Paid: Maintenance of the artillery<sup>1</sup> and the necessary personnel, and sundry essential expenses:

Rs 6,33,000 (approx.) (qarīb)

My own cash salary; daily allowances (ruziana) of khānazāds paid in cash; and other salaries (tankhwāh)

Rs 25,43,000

Total expenditure: Rs 31,76,000

Received: Income (maḥṣūl) from the pargana of Bir and other mahals of the imperial khālisa:

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1. The manuscripts read iḥshām-i-topkhāna, "the personnel of the artillery" Nadwī reads ihtimām, "maintenance" and notes no alternative. This seems the better reading, unless the manuscripts' reading is to be understood as meaning "the artillery and the necessary supportive personnel".

Qutbu'l Mulk's (annual) tribute:	Rs 8,00,000
Rāja of Deogarh's (annual) tribute:	Rs 1,00,000
Total receipts:	Rs 11,40,000

20,36,000 rupees more are required each year, to make the receipts of the Deccan balance expenditure.

I did not trouble Your Majesty with an explanation of the position, even though a report of it was made (to me) since (a total of) 80,60,000 rupees was held (faraham amda bud) in various forms (dar taqribat) in the public treasury (khazana-i 'amira) of the Deccan.

Since a large part of this money was spent on the items abovementioned in very little time, a sum of Rs 20,00,000 has been drawn from the treasure laid up (zakhirah) in (the forts of) Daulatābād and Asīr. Rs 8,50,000 remains, this amount at least (aqillan) (is needed) to take care of the emergencies which must always arise in a great frontier province like this (dar īn qism-i-šūbah-i'umda-i-sarhadd).<sup>1</sup>

I (now) think it imperative (wājib dīd) to inform Your Majesty of these facts.

To balance future receipts with expenditure, I should like to be permitted (agar hukm-i-aqdas zīnat-i-nifāz yābad) to resume to the imperial khālīṣa maḥāls in the hands of jagirdars with an actual net yield of 20,36,000 rupees, with effect from the start of the autumn harvest.

After the recent reduction the total assessment of these provinces is, in dāms, one arb forty-three crores and ninety lakhs; (143,90,00,000 dāms, or Rs 3,62,25,000) but the actual yield, allowing for the twelve lakhs of rupees which earlier dīvāns, in the hope of stabilising the assessment (ba jihat-i qā'im dāshtan-i-jama') wrote off (kamī ... nawishta) as a (permanent) allowance for natural calamity, (ba šīgha-i-āfat) is (only) one crore of rupees. There is not (even) enough to keep average payments up to the three months' scale (ki sarāsar sih māha durust namīshawad).

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1. Here, and at the end of this letter, Aurangzīb recurs to the two-fold difficulty in making the Deccan self-supporting; it is a frontier province, and large forces must be kept up; but to support them by the maṇṣabdārī system out of the province's revenues alone was more than the land could bear.

Of these ten million rupees, twelve crores of dām (Rs 30,00,000) from jāgīrs, and three crores of dām (Rs 7,50,000) from in'ām lands, are payable to myself and to officers of the imperial household.

So if (ba taqdīrī ki) maḥāls yielding Rs 20,36,000 are made khāliṣa, there is no doubt at all that most of the officers posted to the Deccan will be left without jāgīrs. It will be necessary to dismiss them to the Court of the Caliphate; and the total forces serving in the Deccan, a province whose importance is not unknown to Your Majesty, will be reduced by about one third.

There are innumerable reasons (az jihat-i-kaṣīra) why the permanent stationing of a large army here is essential. The Deccan is not to be compared with Bengal or Gujarāt (ba ṣūbah-i-Bangāla wa Gujarāt nisbatī nadarad).

Hail to the true preceptor and guide! These are the reasons (hamīn marātib-ra manẓūr farmūda) why, when last I was honoured with the governorship of the Deccan, I was graciously allowed to hold some of my jāgīrs in other provinces, and to receive my cash salary from the province of Mālwa and the port of Sūrat. Several high-ranking officers serving here then (dar īn ṣūbah ba-sar burda) held jāgīrs in other provinces; so I hope that I may receive whatever instructions the kingdom-adoring mind, brilliant as the sun, may determine. I shall act accordingly.

May the world-illuminating sun of the eternal Caliphate continue to shine!

LETTER 69

Rāo Karan of Bikanīr, Aurangzīb's candidate to hold the pargana of Ellichpūr in jāgīr, has shown slackness in obeying the new branding regulations, and Aurangzīb makes an example of him.

The real substance of this letter, however, is the progress of Aurangzīb's diplomatic intrigues, designed to subvert both the Deccani kingdoms by setting each against the other, encouraging disturbances establishing connections and claims within their boundaries to serve as a basis for Mughul interference.

Śrī Ranga Rāyal, the aged descendant of the rulers of Vijāyanagar, maintained precariously a shadowy independence in a fragment of his ancestral domains. How sincere he was in offering Islām as the price of Mughul protection, or Aurangzīb in professing to believe him, is doubtful; for, as we shall see, he drops out of the picture when Aurangzīb has secured his great object of enrolling Mīr Jumla in imperial service. The matter is pursued in Letters 85-87.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Brief conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of two royal letters, the first signed by the Emperor, and the second written entirely in his hand; both sent in response to Aurangzīb's letters.

Thanks, and further acknowledgements.

I shall set out my impressions, for what they are worth, (nau'ī ki khāṭir-i nāqīṣ ba-rasad) of the new branding regulations in a subsequent letter, as Your Majesty has commanded.

The assessments shall be collected as required by the world-obeyed mandate.

Until Rāo Karan shall have paid the assessments laid upon him, the entire receipts of the pargana of Posad,<sup>1</sup> which forms part of his tuyūl maḥals (tan-jāgīr), will be resumed to the imperial khālīṣa from the spring of the eighth cyclic year (yūnt īl).

It obtained the elegance of being written: "Of his

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1. Compare Letter 63. He would have lost 18 lakhs of dām (Rs. 45000) annually: see the parwāncha of 22 August, 1650, notifying local officials of the pargana's transfer to Rāo Karan: Sel. Doc. Shāh Jahān's Reign, 175-6.



own free will, 'Ādil Khān has sent to the Court, the refuge of rulers, a choice elephant, free of all defects. It has passed under Our luminous gaze, and has been accepted as a suitably respectful offering.' (sabab-i mujrī-i-ū gashta).<sup>1</sup>

What good fortune for him, that he has acquired the grace of sending something acceptable to the refined taste (of Your Majesty), and offering his own respects (at the same time). Your Majesty's incalculable kindness has advanced his honour and status above that of his compeers; Your Majesty's unfailing grace is constantly being showered upon him.

Now that he has received the title of Shāh, which has been the object of all his desires, his sense of gratitude for his good fortune and felicity might (allow him to) offer but one of all the excellent elephants he has acquired from the Carnatic; he might well be able to afford it (ganjāyish dārad).<sup>2</sup>

In reply to my request for (leave to) marry a servant of the sublime court, (sc., Muḥammad Sultān) this sacred order was issued: "You are responsible for your own sons. Do whatever you think proper. If you want to, you may send Muḥammad Sultān upon the fortunate duty (of appearing at Court). We shall retain him for a few days, and shall then give him leave to return to you."

Hail to the true preceptor and guide! Because of the relation of dependence which exists between my father and his several sons, I felt that I could not but lay the situation before Your Majesty. It does not behove me to make decisions affecting members of Your Majesty's own household, and, in fact, in every matter the reins of my free will are held in Your Majesty's God-fearing hands. How much more is this true of my sons! (ba farzandān chi rasad?)

May almighty God continue to keep (Your Majesty's) shadow, lofty as the sky, spread over the heads of murīds and household slaves!

Recognising where my spiritual and temporal felicity lies,

1. Compare, in Letter 80, "bahā-i-ān ba mushār alaihi (in that case, Quṭbu'l Mulk) ba mujrī dādah khwāhād shud", where mujrī is given the meaning of credited against tribute due. The idiomatic use of mujrī in these senses seems distinctively Indian.

2. There is surely a touch of irony here. Is Aurangzīb alluding to Dārā's partiality for the Deccan kings, and his reception of overtures from them? See note at the end of the letter.

I shall, God willing, give Muḥammad Sultān formal leave on Sunday evening, 12 Zī hijja. He will proceed to his exalted audience by way of Mandasor with (an escort of) a thousand first-rate archers and matchlock-men.

Hail to the perfect guide! Ever since I (khānazād-i-hazrat) learned from a letter of my agent at Court, the centre of the world, of Your Majesty's intended departure for Ajmīr, to punish the Rānā unless he obeys the obedience-compelling commands, my anxious desire to serve has left me without rest day or night. I have been strongly moved to petition the Court, exalted as the firmament, to summon me to join the expedition.

I had (already) submitted to Your Majesty my desire to gain the honour of entering the luminous presence, and (I have heard that) it has fallen from the tongue, speaking words of grace: "We shall summon him to wait upon Us."

However, I shall not renew my request to Your Majesty in this matter; I shall wait patiently, in the hope that (ki shāyad) an order summoning me may soon be issued.

What a great kindness it would be, (zihe karāmat) if the saintly protector were to comprehend in the purity of his resplendent mind the yearning of his slave, and make an order granting his wish!

Although 'Ādil Khān is doing his utmost to attract Mīr Jumla from Quṭbu'l Mulk's service to his own, (Mīr Jumla-i-Quṭbu'l Mulk ... ū rā naukar-i khwud kunad) and Quṭbu'l Mulk is now attempting a reconciliation (dar maqām-i-istimālat-i-ū ast) I will redouble my efforts to attract him to our service (dar wādī-i-dilāsā'ī ... hattā'l-maqdūr pishtar sa'ī khwāhad namūd).

Your Majesty will doubtless have read the letter of our ambassador at Golconda 'Abdu'l Laṭīf, saying that Quṭbu'l Mulk, on hearing of our dispatch of Muḥammad Mūmin (Safdār-khānī) to the Carnatic, has been filled with alarm, and is seeking to prevent Mīr Jumla from coming over to us by the use of fraudulent devices.

I have written a letter (nishānī) to our ambassador, and sent a copy to Your Majesty. He is to inform Quṭbu'l Mulk of its contents, in the hope that he will realise (tā ... wāqif gardānad) how contemptible are his plots and perverse plans,

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1. Raftan ba maqṣad with Nadwī's M, rather than giriftan with I.O.

(az qubḥ-i-irādat wa darāzkār) and what little chance they have of being realised by such as he (ki yārā-i-imsāl-i-ū nīst).

The pen, tracing lines of bliss, wrote: "'Ādil Khān now recognises your importance (az ān murīd mulāḥiẓa namūd) and is ready to send you a substantial gift for your own use if you will undertake to prevent any help reaching the Carnatic chief (rāh-i-imdād-i zamindār-i Karnāṭak masdūd shawad).

Hail to this murīd's qiblah! Before (this) exalted farmān reached me, I knew of ('Ādil Khān's) proposal.

My actual intention was to turn his mention of a gift (for my own use) of jewels and fine elephants to the advantage of the sublime government. So I wrote to Ja'far Khān, our ambassador at Bījāpūr, that by reason of his acceptance of Islām and the obligation of a heavy tribute, a lofty command had opened the way for aid to reach the Carnatic chief.

In these circumstances, if 'Ādil Khān were to discharge his obligation to pay a proper tribute by handing over jewels of fine quality, and pedigreed elephants capable of gratifying Your Majesty's taste, to be sent to the Court of the Caliphate through my hands, (ba wasāṭat-i-īn fidwī) he would make this gift of elephants a source of reliance upon the Court, the refuge of the world, and a means of bringing his request to the foot of the lofty throne, in the hope of acquiring for what he asks the rank of acceptance.

When 'Ādil Khān learned what I had written to Ja'far, and what Ja'far had said to his ministers, he sent to Your Majesty's luminous presence a petition, which has been shown in Court, begging that Muḥammad Mūmin's journey to the Carnatic might be abandoned. He has also written in this matter to me, undertaking to offer a further gift (ta'ahhud-i-pishkash karda). So, in a further attempt to regulate the amount he is to pay Your Majesty, I have sent him in writing a final statement of the total, and have sent a man to arrange its collection (barāye inṣirām-i-īn maṭṭlab). In handling this affair, I shall do whatever Your Majesty may direct.

I hope, that through Your Majesty's imperishable good fortune, this stratagem of mine (īn manṣūba), which has already stricken the Deccan kings with consternation, will awaken them from the dreams of their false pride; and that from it the

solicitude of the true preceptor and guide will soon reap a rich harvest (ba andak ... samrat-i-nekū mutarattib gardad).

Everything these men have captured in the Carnatic and concealed, whether in cash or kind, reverts to the (Imperial) government, founded in the firmament. It would be proper, out of solicitude for such an insignificant being as myself, that a gracious farman acquire the honour of being issued to 'Ali 'Adil Khān, accompanied by symbolic gifts (ba tabarrukāt<sup>1</sup>-i-khāsa) from Your Majesty. A particular recital of these claims (of ours to the booty) (tashakhkhīs-i-īn muqaddima) might be made (in the farmān), and (the granting of his requests) made dependent upon (mauqūf gardad) his acknowledgement. The plan appears on the brink of success (bisyār nazdīk ba kār ast). However, anything which may occur to the heart of angelic penetration is the essence of propriety.

May the world-illumining sun of the Caliphate continue to shine until the dissolution of the universe!

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1. The word commonly means that which is blessed; that which possesses barkat, the mysterious power God allows holy men to wield, in bringing prosperity to men and increase in crops. The food distributed at shrines of Muslim saints in India is often called tabarruk. The term as used here has a definite significance; gifts not necessarily of great value, but sanctified by being specially given by the Emperor as a sign of his readiness to show favour. Once again, the deliberate commingling of the terms of divine and human power is worth notice.



Note on the Title of Shāh for 'Ādil Khān

It would appear that the history of Bījāpūr known as the Basātin-i Salāṭīn and compiled in or about 1824, largely from materials no longer extant, by Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Zubairī, claims that Shāh Jahān conferred this title upon 'Ādil Khān in 1648; so says Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār, quoting, presumably, the edition said to have been lithographed at Haidarābād (compare the uninformative but copious bibliography attached to Fārūqī's "Aurangzib: His Life and Times" (p. 584)). I have not seen the Basātin-i Salāṭīn, so cannot comment upon Sir Jādūnāth's conclusion. It has been accepted uncritically by (among others) Dr. Banārsī Prasād Saksena: "History of Shahjahan of Dihli", p. 167. Indirectly, Dr. Mu'īnu'l Haq relies upon it: "Prince Awrangzib", p. 66. See Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār's History of Aurangzīb, vol. I, p. 230.

The passage in Aurangzīb's letter reads: Agar ba'd-i-sarfārazī yāftan ba khitāb-i shāhī, ki muntahā'ī-i arzuhā'ī-i-ū būd, ba muqtaṣṣā'ī nek akhtari wa sa'adatmandī az jumla-i-fīlān-i-nāmī ki az Karnāṭak ba dast āwarda, yak fīl-i-khūb peshkash namūda bāshad, ganjāyish dārad. It seems clear enough that 'Ādil Khān had been "honoured with the title of Shāh"; but perhaps only in the entitulations of letters, and not by any formal act or deed. Certainly Aurangzīb never calls him 'Ādil Shāh; and in the list of titles compiled by the Munshī, he appears as: Imārat panāh, iyālat dastgāh ... shāyista-i-ashfaq-i-bī-payān, 'Alī 'Ādil Khān" (B.M. 292A; I.O. 294B). Was it perhaps that Dārā had mediated the Emperor's decision, and Aurangzīb could not bring himself to accept it?

## LETTER 70

The effect of the reduction in the jama' of the various maḥāls in Aurangzīb's jāgīrs, which he acknowledges in the beginning of this letter, would have been to make Aurangzīb eligible for more jāgīrs, to bring his salary back to the appropriate level (which, it should never be forgotten, was calculated on the basis of the assessment, not the yield).

The second concession given him reinforces the point made in the introduction to Letter 55; officers of Deccani origin were consistently treated as second-class men. Aurangzīb has been allowed to pick the eyes, as it were, from the jāgīrs of all the Deccani officers in the four provinces; and the complaint brought against him is not that these men have suffered a diminution in their actual income as against their normal pay, but that the territorial integrity of administrative unit of land (maḥāls) had been impaired.

Aurangzīb refutes the charge by admitting the principle that maḥāls must be kept intact. A single ill-intentioned departure from that principle by Khān-i-Daurān is adduced as an example of what Aurangzīb would not have done; but it is not clear whether he has rectified the matter, even though old Sazāwār Khān, the officer affected (and not a Deccani) was still serving in the Deccan. Of the generally doubtful virtue of breaking up maḥāls among various jāgīrdārs, considered from their point of view or from that of the peasants, there is not a word.

The negotiations with Mīr Jumla now begin to unfold: Aurangzīb's analysis of that over-mighty subject's position, a masterpiece of condensation, is written in a plain vigorous style with no wasted words.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Brief conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a royal letter signed with the Emperor's own hand.

Short formal thanks.

I have been filled with exultation (mubāhī gasht) at the reduction (takhfīfī) made in the (nominal yield of the) maḥāls in my tuyūl, and at the liberty given me to exchange some of my less productive maḥāls for more flourishing parganas (now) in the hands of Deccani jāgīrdārs. May almighty God keep the murīd-cherishing and slave-nourishing shadow of Your Majesty spread out!

From the text of the exalted farmān, it was clear that the sacred heart had conclusively determined that I had not exchanged maḥāls as a unit, (maḥāl-i-dar u bast-rā mu'āwaḍa nakarda) but had chosen (for myself) the best villages in each pargana, and given the inferior villages to (other) jāgīrdārs.

Hail to the true preceptor and guide! In every matter

(dar jamī' amūr) I<sup>1</sup> keep before my eyes the obligation to gratify the heart of angelic penetration, and indeed I have not acted against that duty now (aşlan pīrāmūn-i-khilāf-i-ān nagashta). Ever since I (first) served as governor of a province, I knew that for men to share in (the management of) a maḥāl was a sure cause of its ruin. Unless a mahal is included as a whole in one man's jāgīr, he cannot administer it properly; how could I act otherwise? Even in the sarkār of Bījāgarh and other (districts), maḥāls were kept intact (dar u bast būda) despite their low yield and general infertility.

In the entire pargana of Juner, as in other parganas, there has been no separation of any maḥāl<sup>2</sup> or village, and they are all included in the assessed revenue for the pargana. When this pargana was in Sazāwār Khān's jagir, Khān-i-Daurān<sup>3</sup> took several parganas out of it, fixed a new revenue for them, and called them a chaukī. This he did out of a hypocritical wish to do him harm, while pretending to favour him (az naqārī ki ba ū dāsht). God willing, I shall obey the noble and exalted command; I shall not abandon the principle that maḥāls must be governed as a unit.

The acceptance of my proposal that the charge of the fort of Ausā be made over to Khwāja Barkhwurdār, and the conditional increase of his rank (izāfa-i-sharṭa-i-ū) has caused my credit to be enhanced.<sup>4</sup> As ordered, I have despatched him to take

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1. Chaudhuri here prints "īn akhlāq sirisht" - surely a misprint, and not the reading of his manuscript.

2. The manuscripts read maḥalī, and not maḥālī as one might have expected.

3. Naṣīrī Khān, Khān-i-Daurān, was Viceroy of the Deccan between 28 May 1644 and 27 June 1645, when he was murdered at Lahore. More a warrior than an administrator, he ruthlessly peeled the peasants. He had commanded one of the armies sent against Jhujār Singh Bundela in 1635, the nominal supreme commandership of which was the youthful Aurangzīb's first public office.

4. The Ma'aṣīru'l-Umarā records that in the 28th year of Shāh Jahān (1654-55) he was appointed qila'dār of Ausā and promoted to 2000/2000, but says nothing about conditional rank: one presumes the rank was confirmed (text, I, 206). On Aurangzib's accession he was created Ashraf Khān; in the second year (1659-1660) he was retired, and called to court. "The date of his death is not known": ibid, 207. The earlier history of this "Naqshbandī khwājazāda" is given in a note to Letter 66.



up his duty at Ausā, and have sent the descriptive roll of his jagir to the Court, exalted as the sky.

I shall give Uzbek Khān leave to kiss the threshold of the Caliphate.

Earlier, Mirzā Khān<sup>1</sup> handed over the fort of Aḥmadnagar to Shāh Beg Khān, in disregard of the general orders, (ba wajūd-i-ṣudūr-i-ḥukm-i-muqaddas) before receiving the lofty farmān addressed to him.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that Uzbek Khān might do the same.<sup>3</sup> I have therefore sent him a letter (nishānī) on this matter, and have told Safī Khān to make sure that Uzbek Khān understands the exalted mandate (superseding him); and to request Uzbek Khān to make over the fort to Khwāja Barkhwurdār as soon as (ba mujarrad-i) he receives my letter, and (learns) the contents of the sublime farmān. If he does, well and good; if not, I shall ask that an exalted farmān be addressed to him by name.

Furthermore, Khwāja Barkhwurdār must not live outside the fort,<sup>4</sup> as Shāh Beg Khān<sup>5</sup> does; but the prohibition should not

1. Mirzā Khān Minuchihrī, "a son of Mīrzā Īrij Shāhnawāz Khān, son of 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān, a memorial of the line of Bairam Khān". He was already a seasoned warrior by 1624; he was posted to Aḥmadnagar in 1651; to Ellichpūr in 1654; and survived, a manṣabdār of 3000/3000, until 1083/1672. M.U. III (text) 586-589.

2. Sc., the official intimation of his supersession. The episode furnishes yet another illustration of the strictness of the rules covering the handing-over charge of official posts: compare Manucci, *Storia do Mogor* (tr. Irvine) II, 445-6; note at IV, 439, for further references. Aurangzīb seems to have forgiven Mīrzā Khān his fault; see Letter 78, *infra*. He was under a slight cloud, however: see Letter 63, *supra*.

3. Perhaps he did; for in Ma'āṣiru'l-umarā, I, 195, we read: "Pas az muddathā ki dar qila'dārī-i-mazkūr (sc. Ausā) guzrānīda, ba huṣūr shitāft." In 1066/1655-56 he was sent to Gujarāt, and "in the 30th year of the reign (sc. 1067/1656-57) "the morning of his life attained the evening of death." Cf. Letter 66.

4. It was a general rule, that a qila'dār must remain within the fort placed in his charge until the officer superseding him arrived to take over.

5. N. inserts khwāja here; I.O., probably correctly, omits it. Shāh Beg was of Uzbek origin. M.U. II (text) 665, and abstract of his career in note to Letter 50, *supra*. Not all Uzbeks were Khwājas, though there was a popular tendency in the eighteenth century to call Central Asians, not being Turks or "Qizilbāsh", Khwāja: possibly in deference to their rigid Sunnī faith. To infer Shah Beg's connection with the Naqshbandī mystics and revivalists would go too far.



be couched so as to detract from his dignity.

The pen, tracing lines of happiness, wrote: "Qutbu'l Mulk's officer Mīr Jumla has returned to the Carnatic. Being unable to come over to us, (chūn īn taraf natawānad āmad) he had no recourse but to hasten away there."

Hail to my qiblah and ka'bah! The facts are these: Like 'Ādil Khān, Qutbu'l Mulk has been casting eyes upon the feeble state of the Carnatic chief for several years now. He sent Mīr Jumla to the Carnatic with most of his army, to seize a portion (barkhī) of that territory (for himself). Arriving in the Carnatic, Mīr Jumla captured various forts and districts, with treasure laid up both above and below ground (bā khazā'in wa dafā'in), and other (forms of) booty.

When it became apparent that he had consolidated his power there, (chūn ū-rā ba-ānjā quwwatī wa istiqlālī paida shuda) and had, through his good treatment and careful management of the army sent there with him, secured its loyalty to himself (sarān-i-sipāh ... az khwud sākhta) - not to mention the excellent army which he had recruited locally, Qutbu'l Mulk began to entertain doubts, (bād gumār shuda) and recalled him.

After his return, Qutbu'l Mulk formed the intention of blinding him (ki ū-rā nā-bīnā kunad). Learning of this, Mīr Jumla used his native cunning and address<sup>1</sup> to free himself from his clutches, and return to the Carnatic. He resolved never again to go near Qutbu'l Mulk, an intention of which Qutbu'l Mulk has come to know. He has summoned Mīr Jumla (again), and is making great efforts to induce him to return; but has had no success.

Mīr Jumla's suspicions have been made stronger; he is sending plausible excuses ('uzrhā'i muwajjah) (to Golconda) but he has no intention of going himself; so by degrees the curtain is dropping from the face of the affair (rafta rafta pardā az rū-i-kār baruftād).

Now he is in possession of all the districts and forts

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1. Compare the use of this phrase in Letter 67. Rather ironically, Aurangzīb later uses it in a letter to Mīr Jumla as wazīr of the Mughul empire: he is speaking of Qutbu'l Mulk! I.O. fo. 121A, last line; B.M. fo. 108A.

which he captured, and Qutbu'l Mulk's army remains under his command. He has laid the foundations of amity with the Carnatic chief,<sup>1</sup> and has established good relations with 'Ādil Khān. It is quite likely that these facts have not yet become known at Court (az q̄rār wāqi' mazkūr-i-mahfil-i-jalāl nashuda).

Hail to the saintly protector! If Mīr Jumla should obtain the grace of serving the Court, the refuge of rulers, and sets off in this direction, who would dare to stop him? (yārā'ī chīst, ki sadd-i-rāh-i-ū tawānad shud?) I have written to him many times, that if his apprehensions<sup>2</sup> restrain him from acquiring the felicity of servitude to the sublime Court, he should write plainly to that effect. Then I would send an Imperial army, suitable for the purpose, (shāyista) to any place he cares to mention, to serve as an escort for him. (At present), no messenger can pass between us, (rāh-i-āmad u raft-i-qāṣidān masdūd gashta) so no reply has reached me.

If his fortune befriends him, and good luck guides him, (agar tāli' yāwar, wa bakht rahbar-i-ū khwāhad būd) it is certain that he will not cut himself off (maḥrūm nasākhta) from this brilliant destiny, but will contemplate no other course (than entering our service).

May the world-illuming sun of the Caliphate continue to shine from the horizon of grandeur!

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1. Sc., Śrī Ranga Rāyal.

2. Sc., his fears of an encounter with Qutbu'l Mulk's army, or perhaps an ambush.

## LETTER 71

The Emperor has attempted to deal with Aurangzīb's remonstrances against the branding system (Letter 65, supra) by two measures: by basing the salaries of troopers on the realistic assumption that Deccan jāgīrs are yielding only a third of their assessed income, and by increasing the salaries of men in the lowest range to twenty rupees a month. Aurangzīb's detailed reply, transmitted separately, has not survived. If it had, some interesting details would have come to light, particularly of the re-distribution of jāgīrs, made necessary by this reduction of the assessment - in effect, if not in form. Was land released from khālīṣa to make up the amounts jāgīrdārs were now obliged to pay? It was not a usual practice in Shāh Jahān's time.

Unfortunately, Aurangzīb is too discreet to disclose, in this demi-official letter, the contents of Mīr Jumla's first written approach to him. That the messenger and his escort passed through Golconda territory (with the utmost circumspection) must be taken for granted. The wide sweep around the rough and then almost untraversed country on the southern confines of Orissa would have required far more than "twenty days" to pass through, and return by.

Qandahār in the Deccan, now insignificant, was then the principal fort of Mughal Telingāna, and stood some twenty miles south-west of the principal town, Nānder. As such, it was one of the more important forts under Aurangzīb's charge.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Short conventional salutations.

In reply to the representations which I sent to the exalted Court upon the branding regulations,<sup>1</sup> it has been ordered: "As the jāgīrs of most officers serving in the Deccan yield four months' (proportion of their assessed income) or even less, We determine that with effect from the first of Mihr, (az ibtidā'ī-i-ghurra-i Mihr) which coincides with the beginning of the autumn harvest of the seventh cyclic year,<sup>2</sup> (yūnt il) the (troopers') salaries of 17½ rupees a month for each horse on the three-monthly scale, and 15 rupees a horse on the two-monthly scale, will be set at twenty rupees monthly for each horse, on the scale of four months."

This is the essence of kindness. (However), no cavalryman

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1. Letter 65, supra.

2. Mihr begins on 21 or 22 September. Yūnt īl fell in the 26th regnal year of Shāh Jahān (solar). The alteration therefore takes effect from the autumn equinox of 1654.

whose pay ('alūfa) is under twenty rupees is of much use. The new regulations will bring gain to some, and loss to others; (ba jama'ī nafa', wa ba tā'ifa nuqṣān) yet all must study to fulfil the demands of the government, founded in the firmament.

As a further example of kindness to murīds, it was ordered: "If that murīd were to submit any other plan conformable with financial policy, and agreeable to Us, a lofty mandate implementing it would acquire the nobility of issue."

Everything my weak wit has suggested is set out in detail in a separate statement, (bar afrād-i-judāgānī) and sent to the Court, exalted as the sky, so that Your Majesty may ascertain the real facts in the light of it. I hope that my suggestions will be found agreeable (darja-i-istiḥsān yāfta) and accepted.

Hail to the true preceptor and guide! On the second of this month, one of my suite, whom I had sent some time ago with a conciliatory and comforting letter to Qutbu'l Mulk's officer Mīr Jumla returned, after an absence of three weeks,<sup>1</sup> (dar 'arz-i-bīst rūz āmda) escorted by two of Mīr Jumla's foot-soldiers. He brought a letter written in his own hand by Mīr Jumla on receipt of mine, which I have answered as well as my slight intelligence (khāṭir-i-fātir) allowed. With the news of Your Majesty's gracious intention to favour him, I have made him more confident than ever (ū-rā besh az pesh ... ummīdwār sakhta)<sup>2</sup>. His letter I have sent to the luminous Presence, that I may be directed how to handle him, and act accordingly.

Hail to the qiblah of the hopes and the ka'bah of the safety of slaves! Muḥammad Shāh, the commandant of Qandahār (in the Deccan), is an old servant of the Court. He hopes, that through the unfailing compassion (of Your Majesty) a title may be graciously conferred upon him. Were he honoured,

1. Mīr Jumla's headquarters were in the rock-bound fort of Gandikota in the Penner river gorge, some 400 miles s.e. of Aurangzīb's capital of Aurangābād. The messenger averaged some forty miles a day, a satisfactory performance.

2. Nadwī's reading pesh az pesh, which he adopts without noting variants, is inferior.



by way of solicitude for insignificant beings, with this award, it would be a source of pride and distinction for him.

May the world-illuminating sun of the Caliphate never cease to shine from the horizon of grandeur and magnificence!

LETTER 72

This letter contains perhaps the sharpest of the prince's remonstrances to his father.

Firstly, Aurangzīb rebuts the reproach that in his manner of selecting lands for his own jāgīr he has flouted his obligations as a Muslim. The Emperor appears to have forgotten, that a few months before (Letter 59, supra) he made a partial and temporary cash grant, and suggested that Aurangzīb make up his salary "from such jāgīrdārs' maḥāls as you may choose". The depth of the prince's indignation may be measured by his sharp reproach against the wazīr Sa'du'llāh Khān, hitherto his friend and supporter, who seems to have furnished the Emperor with an unfavourable report.

Secondly, Aurangzīb deals with a complaint that he ought not have referred to Court an application for a taqāwī loan for works of public utility. Undoubtedly his vexation overmastered his common sense; but his reply is not without point.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, acknowledgement of two farmans bearing royal signature, (neither dated) and short formal thanks.

In the first farmān it acquired the honour of being written: "From the cash-book (āwārcha)<sup>1</sup> of the pargana of Asīr, sent by Multafit Khān to the Court, the asylum of the world, it appears that (lands yielding) forty lakhs of dāms (Rs. 100,000) which you took out of that pargana for your own tuyūl, are on a sixteen months' scale.

To take for yourself (only) the high-yielding villages in a pargana, and to assign to others for their salaries villages with a yield so low as 1½ months or two months, accords neither

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1. Nadwī selects afrād, "separate sheets", as the better reading; he notes afrādcha, which seems rather barbarous, in his B. The manuscripts read āwārcha, for which see Steingass, 119, s.v. āwarja; compare Platts, 101, s.v. awārija, etc. "accountbook, day-book; note book, diary, journal; book of receipts and disbursements". See also Lambton's Landlord and Tenant in Persia (Oxford, 1953); glossary, s.v. avārij, etc. p. 423.

with what is expected of a Muslim, nor with justice (az musulmānī wa inṣāf ba'īd ast).<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, twenty lakhs of dām (Rs. 50,000) in ill-yielding territories within the pargana of Asīr is substituted for (the same amount) of cash in your salary ('iwaz-i-naqd-i-tan namūda shud). The annual produce of sixty lakhs of dām (Rs 150,000) from your jāgīrs in Asīr will thus be reduced to a twelve months' scale".

Hail to the saintly protector! To the brilliant mind, piercing as the sun, it must be clear, that never in my time as a provincial governor have I perpetrated any act of injustice inconsonant with the Islamic obligations of the murīds of the most perfect of perfect guides.<sup>2</sup> To the best of my ability I have striven to earn the satisfaction of God, and the approbation of His shadow on earth.

Of those forty lakhs of dām which have brought such a sharp rebuke upon me, thirty-three lakhs (Rs. 82,500) are derived from the revenues (sā'ir)<sup>3</sup> of Bahādurpūr;<sup>4</sup> the rest (tatimma)<sup>5</sup> comes from three or four villages near the city, (of Burhānpūr) and their yield does not even reach six months' proportion. I did not take them myself; upon the transfer of Shāyista Khān (to Gujarāt), Your Majesty ordered the dīwāns of

1. In his "History of Aurangzib", Vol. I, pp. 166-167, Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār abstracts this bitter and revealing exchange between father and son.

2. The B.M. text, which Nadwī follows without noting any alternative, is adopted here. I.O. omits the vital musulmānī, reading: "... ki az mūrīdān-i-murshid-i-kāmil-i-mukammal dūr' ast rizā' nadāda." Thus the whole sense is lost; while Chaudhuri's manuscript appears to read: "ki az musulmānī ba'īd bāshad, murīdān-i-murshid-i kāmīl-i-mukammal rizā' nadādah", destroying the sense and importing a phrase from Shāh Jahān's words in the second paragraph; no doubt because the scribe could make nothing of what he saw before him.

3. These were probably taxes levied in the manner of tamghā upon non-agricultural goods, such as saltpetre.

4. "This day at Batharport (Bahādurpūr) a village two mile short of Brampore, is the storehouse of ordinance". Entry for 14 November 1615 in Sir Thomas Roe's diary (ed. Foster, Oxon., 1926; p. 68).

5. Nadwī reads hama, though he notes tatimma in his S and B.

the luminous court to enter then in the roll of my jāgīrs at the same assessment. (This was done) before I was given formal leave to proceed to the Deccan.

I am surprised that those who are charged with the financial affairs of the empire, (*mutakaffilān-i-muhimmāt-i-dīwānī*) especially the vizier (*dastūr-i-a'zam*) with all his powers of memory, (*ba quwwat-i-ḥāfiẓa ki dārad*)<sup>1</sup> laid no copy of the roll of my jāgīrs before your Majesty when the cash-book was brought forward. He himself settled that roll as my salary; but most probably not even he has the power to ensure that he brings affairs of this kind before your Majesty with all the facts correct. Against the facts, what value has the letter from him (complaining about me?) (*nishān az ishān che ganjāyish dārad?*).

If on such pretexts things are to be mentioned in Court, without previous investigation or enquiry, contrary to the regular practice; (*bar khilāf-i rasm wa 'ādat*) if the happy heart is to be grieved by the mere oral mention of such matters; if even my devotion to Islām, which is the capital fund of my eternal felicity, is to be mentioned by the truthful tongue in connection with this trifling and ephemeral affair, what recourse have I?

Even though the overall yield of (my) jāgīrs in the Deccan is not more than eight months' (proportion of my salary), including the forty lakhs of dām for Asīr and other fertile parganas granted to me in exchange for cash on a ten monthly scale, Your Majesty has gained the impression that my total income is very high. The happy heart is (therefore) pleased to deduct twenty lakhs of dām (Rs. 50,000) from my cash receipts. Since the life and property of murīds is consecrated to the true preceptor and guide, what is the point of making any exchange (for it)?

In the second farmān it acquired the elegance of being written: "Multafit Khān (*khān-i-mazkūr*) has submitted, that if forty or fifty thousand rupees were granted as a loan to the

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1. Sir Jādūnāth paraphrases: "... the wazir who has a retentive memory". Sir Jādūnāth's phrase is inserted by Dr. Mu'īnu'l Haq into his version of this passage and the following paragraph: Prince Awrangzīb, pp 41-42. The Doctor's comments are well to the point.



peasants (ba tarīq-i-taqāwī marḥamat shawad)<sup>1</sup> to build embankments (bandhā) in Khāndesh and Berār, in the Payān Ghāt, the amount would be returned to the public treasury within two years, and a spectacular increase in prosperity would appear. But when he put the proposal to you, he was told (jawāb shunīda) that matters concerning parganas in the hands of jāgīrdārs should be referred to the Court, the refuge of the world, and that he should act on any command that might be given.

It was to be expected of you that you should have forthwith drawn the amount from the royal treasury, and should have exacted an undertaking from (Multafit Khān) that if the advance were not approved, he would repay it from his own establishment."<sup>2</sup>

Hail to the qiblah and ka'bah of murids! It is no wonder that I had neither the confidence nor the courage to act as your Majesty has suggested (ba chunīn i'timād wa i'tibār jur'at bar imtiṣāl-i-īn muqaddimāt natawānad kard). I have been made responsible for acts which I have not done, and was not capable of doing, and have found it difficult to clear myself; (barāmadan dushwār bāshad). What measure of boldness (chi sāl-i-iqdām) could I show in (undertaking) a responsibility of this kind?

When I was here before, I had some freedom and independence, and I would never have allowed an affair of this kind to be put off until the arrival of an imperial command; nor would I have waited for the dīwāns to report it to the exalted Court. But now I can only cut my cloth to suit the measure, (ghair az pā ba-andāza-i-gilīm darāz kardan ... gurez nīst)<sup>3</sup> and keep myself beyond the range of questions (khud-rā dar ma'raz-i-

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1. "Taccavi loans" are still made for such purposes. Dr. 'Irfān Ḥabīb discusses the taqāwī loan of Mughal times in his "Agrarian System", pp. 253-255.

2. Sir Jādūnāth abstracts this exchange too; Aurangzib I, p. 182. So does Dr. Mu'īnu'l Ḥaq: Prince Awrangzib, p. 52.

3. Compare the popular phrase, "mā-rā az shumā gurez nīst."

bāz purs dar niyāwardan). I believe I have performed quite well in this post; yet I am reproached with accusations of this kind! (bā wujūd-i-khwushnūdī badīn mauza', ba chunīn 'itābhā mu'atib mīshawad)<sup>1</sup>

May the lofty shadow of the Caliphate be perpetually spread over the heads of murīds!

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1. With this harsh and almost insolent reflection, Aurangzīb breaks off; the conventional conclusion appears cruelly ironic.

## LETTER 73

It is possible to descry the first ripples of doubt stirring as Aurangzīb writes that Mīr Jumla is "twisting and turning," while keeping his final intentions secret from all. If from abundance of skill and guile, he could evade Quṭbu'l Mulk, and induce 'Ādil Khān to view him with favour, might he not play the Mughals false too?

The "daily allowances" referred to were those paid to salaried servants, not mansabdārs. Such persons were styled rozīnadārs. A distinction must be made between them and persons granted a daily stipend either in charity (e.g., Selected Documents of Shāh Jahān's Reign, no. 81 (pp. 177-78) and no. 89 from Aurangzīb himself and dated 9 January, 1654 (pp. 187-88); or for performing some public duty, such as calling the faithful to prayer (ibid, no. 86, pp. 183-84: dated a few days before Aurangzīb marched out of Burhānpūr (Letter 57, supra).

The letter ends with a reference to the Emperor's reply to the lost "separate sheet" of representations upon the new branding rules sent with Letter 71. The substance is not rehearsed, but must have been disappointing; in the terms prescribed by etiquette, Aurangzīb suggests that his submission had not been given due attention.

"There should be no reluctance even to sacrifice one's life on the path of sincerity ..." As Aurangzīb was to write, somewhat peevishly, over forty years later: "... a mere piece of rhetoric and fashion of speech". (Aḥkām-i-'Ālamgīrī, ed. and tr. Sarkār, p. 77).

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a letter with an endorsement in the Emperor's hand, (ki ... ba qalam-i-mubārak-i-raqam-i-khāṣṣ zīnat-i-nigārish yāfta būd) in answer to a letter from Aurangzīb (neither dated).

Formal thanks.

Before (this) obedience-compelling order was issued, I sent a further letter, in my own hand, to Muḥammad Sa'īd (Mīr Jumla). (In it) I gave him still more ground to hope for your Majesty's grace and favour, and spared no effort<sup>1</sup> in inducing him to accept the good fortune of service to the Court, exalted as the sky. I now await his reply. When it reaches me, I shall report its contents to the exalted presence.

Hail to the saintly protector! Mīr Jumla is placed between two well-armed rulers,<sup>2</sup> both seeking to attract him

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1. Or, perhaps, "omitted no possible inducement": daqīqa az daqā'iq firo nagashta.

2. Nadwī adds Dakan after dū duniyādār, but without manuscript authority.

to themselves. At present he is twisting and turning (before their blandishments), (ba ānjā kajdār wa marīz kardā)<sup>1</sup> while disclosing his true intentions to nobody. Until he is satisfied that they cannot harm him, he does not wish the news of his adherence to the Court, the refuge of rulers, to become public (āshkāra gardad). It would be wise if these negotiations and Mīr Jumla's letters which I send to Court, both now and in future, are kept secret from everybody.

Your Majesty's gracious increase of the daily allowance and other (receipts) of the servants of the Imperial household (khānazād) was prompted by solicitous consideration for the humble, and is beyond the capacity of my thanks. Almighty God keep Your Majesty's shadow extended over the heads of murīds and household slaves!

The acceptance of the trifles (muḥaqqarī) which I sent as peshkash by a servant of Your Majesty's is most honourable to me, and I offer the most profound thanks.

The reasons for my delay in sending my gift are, in fact, the very ones which have cast their brilliance upon the sacred heart. There should be no reluctance to sacrifice even one's life on the path of sincerity, and the value of the goods of this world is really a mere bagatelle (ma'lūm ast ki māl-i-duniyā chi qadr khwahad dāsht). I am making every effort to collect some precious things which might gratify Your Majesty's taste; so that, recognising where my own felicity lies, I might send them to the exalted Court.

The sanctioning of the title I sought for Muhammad Shāh has increased my confidence (of further favours), and has exalted him.

(Your Majesty's) response to the representations I made on the branding regulations,<sup>2</sup> and the separate report I attached,

1. The manuscripts read kajdar wa marīz. The phrase without the copula occurs in Steingass, p. 1017. Nadwī's S. has gurez, but he prefers garpuz, which seems unintelligible. B.M. clearly reads marīz; Chaudhurī's manuscript read marīz, which he alters to gurīz. I assume that Nadwī had the same intention, and that his reading is lapsus calami.

2. The answer to Letter 65, supra, is rehearsed at the beginning of Letter 71. That was only a partial reply, and Aurangzīb now seeks an answer to the matters raised in separate sheet", apparently sent with Letter 71; its text has not survived.



was not plainly discernible from the text of the lofty farmān. Most likely the courtiers in attendance (istādhā'ī pāya-i sarīr-i-khilāfat maṣīr) did not animadvert Your Majesty (to my communications). Had they been read out in the august assembly, a reply would have been given, satisfactorily settling the affairs of the men serving here, now in great disorder for want of attention.

May the world-warming sun of the Caliphate ever shine from its station of eternal duration!

LETTER 74

The formal appointment of Mīr Jumla to high rank in the Imperial service signalled <sup>of the</sup> Shah Jahan's resolve to be bound no longer by the provisions, treaty of 1636 which bound him not to seduce Golconda officers from their service. The actual manṣab offered at this stage does not appear, but on his coming over after the campaign against Golconda early in 1656, he was given the manṣab of 5000/5000 and created Mu'azzam Khan, while on reaching Court in July and being appointed wazīr he was promoted to 6000/6000.

The mission to Muḥammad Amīn in Haidarābād would also have been secret.

Aurangzīb has taken another opportunity of promoting Hoshdār, the son of Multafit Khān. This time he seems resigned to leaving him below the crucial rank of hazārī, although he had earlier (in Letter 55) told the Emperor that Hoshdār well deserved it.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a farmān "filled with advice for servants of the Court, the asylum of the world", and of a special robe of honour, "which to the sincere eyes of murīds is worth more than any worldly gain."

Lengthy formal thanks, and vows for a long reign.

In (announcing) to Quṭbu'l Mulk's officer Mīr Jumla the manṣab fixed for him I shall, God willing, act as commanded; so also in conciliating him, and conveying him (to my presence). I have sent his (latest) letter to the luminous Court. It was sent to me after his interview with the servant of the heaven-centred government, Muḥammad Mumīn; with it came his own report of the interview. Your Majesty will have seen (them both) by now, as I have sent them to the luminous court.

I have (also) sent to my agent at court the sealed letter (nāma ... sar bar muhr)<sup>1</sup> which 'Abdu'l Latīf the brother

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1. Here Chaudhurī reads nālwa for nāma!

of Mu'izzu'l Mulk<sup>1</sup> addressed to Fāzil Khān.<sup>2</sup> Your Majesty will have been informed of the gist (maẓāmin) of 'Abdu'l Latīf's letter; he himself has joined Mīr Jumla.

I had sent an intelligent servant of mine<sup>3</sup> to encourage Mīr Jumla's son and heir (khalafu's-ṣadq) Muḥammad Amīn before the world-obeyed command (telling me to do so) reached me. He is to dispel any fears he might have (about joining us), and to hold out hopes (of high preferment). When his reply reaches me, I shall report to Your Majesty.

Hail to my spiritual and temporal qiblah and ka'bah! Mīr Mūsā's sons are experienced men, and hereditary servants of good birth. My proposal for ranks and duties for them will have become known to Your Majesty through the news-writer's diary.

A faujdār was required in the sarkār of Kalam,<sup>4</sup> and I therefore gave the post to Multafit Khān's son Hoshdār, a zealous officer, with an increase of 200 zāt and 100 sawār for the duration of his employment. He now enjoys a combined rank, original and increased, of 900 zāt and 400 sawār, so that he might perform his duties efficiently.<sup>5</sup> I trust that

1. So called to distinguish him from the other 'Abdu'l Latīf, the ambassador. This man was a Golconda noble.

2. 'Alāu'l Mulk Tūnī, Fāzil Khān, then Mīr Sāmān to Shāh Jahān. He had come from Irān in the 8th year, and entered imperial service in the 15th. In 1658, he was Shāh Jahān's envoy to Aurangzīb outside the Āgra fort. Made wazīr in June 1663, he died two weeks later: M.U., III, 524-528(text): M.A., 41 (text).

3. I.O. (but not the other manuscripts) inserts, between mīr-i-mazkūr and yake az mardum, the words rafta būd ba nām. They seem an adventitious interpolation, and are disregarded in translation.

4. Some 12 miles N.E. of Yeotmāl (Yavatmāl).

5. Hoshdār was recommended for this rank by Aurangzīb in Letter 53, upon his appointment as Dārogha of the Ordinance in the Deccan. Shāh Jahān reduced the sawār rank to 800 (Letter 55) and confirmed the appointment; later, without assigning a reason, he ordered him dismissed, and the post given to Šafī Khān, Bakḥshī of the Deccan (Letter 58). The Emperor said, of the Daroghaship, khidmat-i-kalānī ast; but confirmed the appointment in the end (M.U. III, 943). He was to have more to do with Hoshdār; duly promoted by Aurangzīb on his accession, he was made governor of Āgra province in 1663, and in 1665 the duties of faujdār were added. He attended the fallen Emperor's funeral, in January 1666; was posted as governor of Burhānpūr in 1671; but died soon after, the event being reported early in January 1672. Life in M.U. III, 943-945 (death, and reference to his prowess with firearms). See also Ma'āšir-i-Ālamgīrī, (text) 111 and 114.

(the appointment) will be approved.

May the world-warming sun of the Caliphate remain ever bright!



The principal interest of this letter is the question of the jāgīrs of the recently appointed dārogha of the Ordinance, Mir Shamsu'd dīn. He had been holding a jāgīr in Bihār, which no doubt paid the greater proportion of the assessed revenue each year, if not the whole. The Emperor resumes it, and directs the assignment of a Deccani jāgīr on the seven months' scale. Aurangzīb selects Bālkonda in Berār, which since the departure of Uzbek Khān (Letter 70, supra) would have been held as khāliṣa, with the revenues going to the Imperial treasury; but he points out that it has become a seven-month jāgīr only since "the late reduction" in the jama', the assessed revenue. By what proportion the jama' was reduced, the correspondence does not disclose; as Bālkonda lies in the eastern part of Berār, and therefore within that part of it which falls into the Bālā Ghāṭ, the reduction in its assessment was doubtless part of Murshid Qulī Khān's re-organisation.

To be serving in the Deccan and have no jāgīr there, but only a jāgīr in Hindustān, would be burdensome to Shamsu'd dīn; but now that he has a Deccani jāgīr Aurangzīb solicits the granting of a further jāgīr in Hindustān, as a sign of favour.

The use of tuyūl to describe the totality of an officer's jāgīr reinforces the point made by 'Irfān Ḥabīb (Agrarian System, p. 258, n. 2) that at this period the term was not reserved for the jāgīrs of princes.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Short conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a farman written (in the office of) "secretaries facile as Mercury" (no date given).

A world-obeyed order obtained the honour of issue:

"The pargana of Īkal,<sup>1</sup> situated in the province of Bihār, has been transferred from Shamsu'd dīn, dārogha of the Ordinance in the Deccan.<sup>2</sup> Give him a maḥāl in the Deccan in

1. Chaudhurī reads Abkal. I.O. has no points; but in B.M. they are quite clear. In the modern district of Gaya there is an Īkal, but Abkal cannot be traced.

2. Mīr Shamsu'd dīn, Bakhshī of the entire Deccan in 1647 with the rank of 1000/400, then in 1649 commandant of Asīr, now replaces Ṣafī Khān, whom the Emperor had appointed to hold this post currently with the post of Bakhshī of the Deccan (Letter 58; he was also Wāqī'nawīs of the Deccan). No reference in the letters to Ṣafī Khan's removal seems to appear. See note to Letter 74, supra. In a letter to Mīr Jumla as wazīr late in 1656, when the Bījāpūr campaign of 1657 was preparing, Mīr Shamsu'd dīn, "dārogha-i-topkhāna-i-pādshāhī" is mentioned with approval; (B.M. 166B: I.O. 119A). He was created Mukhtār Khān before Aurangzīb marched from Burhānpūr in March 1658; this had been his father's title (I.O. 306B; B.M. 251A). He died about August, 1684, having succeeded Muḥammad Amīn Khān as governor of Gujarāt in 1682 (Ma'āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī (text) 219-220; 246 (death); life in Ma'āṣiru'l Umarā, III, 620-623 (text). He was the son of Mukhtār Khān Sabzawāri; his own son got the title after his death, but when Aurangzīb died "passed some time in the Capital (Shāhjahānābād) without employment, and died some years before this was written" (M.U. III, 625).

exchange, with receipts no less than seven months' proportion."

Hail to the saintly protector! In fulfilment of the sacred command, I have settled the pargana of Bālkonda<sup>1</sup> as his salary. It used to be one of the maḥals in Uzbek Khān's tuyūl, and has not yet been conferred upon anyone; its present yield, after the late reduction,<sup>2</sup> is about seven months' (proportion). Since Shamsu'd dīn is an experienced hereditary servant of the sublime Court, he will expend his utmost efforts in the efficient discharge of his duties. When he was sent (here), a jāgīr in prosperous Hindustān (Hindustān-i-faiz-nishān) was conferred upon him, which was hardly a favour to a man serving in the Deccan;<sup>3</sup> and now he holds only Deccani jāgīrs. If some (further) concession were accorded him, it would be a well-placed kindness to an old officer.

Hail to the qiblah of mortal men's desires, and the ka'bah of their security! I have been exalted by the auspicious arrival of a special robe of honour, a gift presented to me (tabarruk) from the stores of graciousness and benevolence, and brought by that hereditary slave of the exalted court, Muḥammad Sultān.<sup>4</sup> I offer the salutations of a murīd, and the thanks of a slave. The limitless bounty which (Your Majesty's) most exquisite kindness has lavished upon me, and which Muḥammad Sultān has fully described to me, is more than anything for which my feeble tongue can discharge the duties of gratitude.

1. About 20 miles north-east of Nizāmābād, in the quondam Hyderabad state, on the high road to Nāgpūr. Seven months' yield was good for a Deccani jāgīr; Bālkonda might have been one of the "fertile jāgīrs" Shāh Jahān gave him on his accession, as a reward for joining him at Juner in 1627: M.U. (text) I, 196.

2. Ba'd-i-takhfīf. An example of the relative inferiority of Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār's manuscript is that it seems to read taḥqīq; see Nadwi's note 2, p. 135.

3. Because the revenue would be expensive to collect and remit from a distance; he would be obliged to send men at his own expense to collect, and perhaps to transport, the takings. The basis of the complaint appears to be, that Shamsu'd-dīn's only jāgīr was in Hindustān - that is, north of the Chambal and west of Bengal. Even in Shāh Jahān's reign, a jāgīr in Hindustān was a highly prized addition to jāgīrs in the Deccan.

4. The Rānā submitted when Shāh Jahān marched against him in September, 1654; so the expected campaign (Letter 69) was a promenade. The Emperor was back in Āgra at the end of the year, and Muḥammad Sultān would have received his congé soon afterwards.

May Almighty God never cease to extend the murīd-  
cherishing and slave-nourishing shadow of Your Majesty!

LETTER 76

The sequel to Aurangzīb's remonstrances in Letter 72, supra, over his proposals for settling his jāgīrs in the Deccan, seems to be a complete withdrawal of the Emperor's objections. Aurangzīb offers restrained thanks for being allowed to do what he had originally intended.

The reduction allowed in the assessment of the wild and jungly parganas of Bījāgarh came no doubt as a welcome concession to reality.

Much has been made of Aurangzīb's well-argued case for the release upon security of Rāja Indraman of Dhindhara, a turbulent Bundela. He was probably prompted as much by the hope of gaining a strong supporter, as by love of justice or affection for Rājputs. In any event, the Emperor refused to release the prisoner.

Muhammad Ghiyās was clearly less talented than his elder brother Muhammad Safī: see the note to Letter 55, supra.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Acknowledgement of a farmān written in the secretaries' office,<sup>1</sup> in response to a letter of Aurangzīb (no date given for either).

Briefest possible thanks.

I thankfully acknowledge the acceptance of the proposals I originally made for exchanging (my) maḥāls, and the grant of a reduction of twelve lakhs of dām (Rs. 30,000) (in the revenue assessment of) (certain) parganas in the sarkār of Bījāgarh. My limited powers of expression (zabān-i-qāṣir bayān) are quite incapable of discharging the obligations of gratitude for these most generous acts of Your Majesty. May Almighty God keep the great Caliphate-adorning shadow of the murīd-cherishing guide ever extended!

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1. The common phrase, nigāshta-i-khāma-i dabīrān-i-'Utārid raqam, is here misunderstood by Nadwī's calligrapher, who writes 'attār raqam.



Hail to the qiblah of men's hope and safety! By Your Majesty's orders, Indraman, zamīndār of Dhindera, has long been detained in the fort of Asīr.<sup>1</sup> He recently sent me a man to ask that he be freed from prison, as a pious sacrifice in Your Majesty's name. He offered to pay fifty thousand rupees into the public treasury, as a peshkash for the Court, sublime as the sky, and to serve in the Deccan for a year without jāgīr or maṇṣab, maintaining fifty horse and a hundred foot. Thereafter, he would keep up his contingent with whatever rank Your Majesty might be pleased to bestow upon him. He would remain on duty constantly and would not even think of returning to his former ancestral lands (waṭan-i-qadīm).

The commandant of Asīr, Nar Singh Dao, undertakes to stand surety (zāmin ... mīshawad) both for his behaviour and for the payment of the peshkash he has offered. He has now been paying for his misdeeds in prison for a long time, and has been reduced to a very low condition.

It is part of Your Majesty's nature, so tender towards

1. A series of the daily record of occurrences (siyāha-i-huṣūr) in Aurangzīb's vice-regal court, when he was in charge of the Deccan for the first time, is preserved at Ḥaidarābād; among those published is that for 13 Rajab 1047/21 November 1637. Part of it reads: "'Abū'llāh Beg, a maṇṣabdār in the service of her Imperial Highness the Princess (Jahānārā) was directed to escort Indraman, Rāja of Dhindhera, to Shāh Beg Khān at Juner. Shāh Beg Khān is to hold him in confinement at Juner." (Selected Documents of Shāh Jahān's Reign; Daftar-i-Dīwānī, Ḥaidarābād, 1950, p. 48: the English abstract, p. 49, contains an error). Shāh Beg Khān was then qila'dār of Juner.

Aurangzīb released Indraman on his way north in 1658. Indraman fought in his battles, was promoted to 3000/2000, and finally to 4000/3000; and died in 1677 (Ma'āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī (text) 161). See also Ma'āṣiru'l Umarā, (text) II, 265-266.

Indraman's original offence had been, to lead an armed affray against Siva Rām, a nephew of Raja Viṭṭhal Das Gaur, whom Shāh Jahān had installed in Dhindera. Viṭṭhal Das was a favourite of Shāh Jahān; there as a scrappy notice of himself and some of his sons and relatives in the Ma'āṣiru'l Umarā (text, II, 250-256). Perhaps the Emperor's heart was particularly hardened against Indraman for that reason. But Dr. Iftikhār Aḥmad Ghaurī exaggerates when he says that Indraman "remained rotting in the prison for twenty years". (War of Succession, p. 87, compare p. 84). Whether at Juner or in the high and spacious enclosure of Asīr, Indraman would not have been confined to a cell, but would have had liberty to walk about and recreate himself; and would probably have had servants, and some of his family, with him. It is quite piquant to compare Dr. Ghaurī's rose-tinted picture of Shāh Jahān's captivity in the Agra fort, "wrongly termed as such": *ibid*, pp. 155-156.

your subjects, to forgive offences and to accept explanations and excuses,<sup>1</sup> so it would not be contrary to Your Majesty's solicitous care for the least significant beings, if the line of cancellation were drawn across the page of his faults.

But anything else determined by the mind, brilliant as the sun, will be the essence of fitness.

Hail to the saintly protector! Muhammad Ghiyās, son of Islām Khān,<sup>2</sup> had a jāgīr in glorious Hindustān which paid on an eight-monthly salary scale; but the yield of his jāgīr in the Deccan is no more than five months. He is an hereditary servant well worthy of favour; and I have just learned from the news-report of the sarkār of Jhakar<sup>3</sup> that an officer needs to be sent there to act as faujdār. I have therefore given Muhammad Ghiyās the post of faujdār of Jhakar, and I propose that 100 zāt and 100 sawār be added to his rank for such time as he continues therein; he would then enjoy the combined rank of 600 zāt and 200 sawār. I have settled upon him a jāgīr in Jhakar with a yield of three months, to make up the salary due for his new rank. To accept my suggestion would be a kindness to an hereditary servant.

May the tents of the Caliphate's splendour be forever supported upon the poles of perpetuity!

1. This is a good example of the assimilation of of imperial qualities with the divine.

2. The report was presumably attached to this letter, M.U. III, 162-166 (text) Mīr Muhammad Ghiyās was the fourth son, and died as Ghiyāsu'd dīn Khān in October 1678: *ibid*, 167, and M.A., 171 (text).

3. The manuscripts appear to read Jhkar and Chakar. An identification with the former Nizām Shāhī fort of Chakna in the northern Konkan hills is unlikely. It was not then under Mughul administration; however, it was seized from Śivājī in 1660 by Shāyista Khān (Ma'āşir-i-'Alamgīrī (text) 32.

LETTER 77

The Emperor seems to recur to Letter 60, supra, where Aurangzīb suggested that Kesrī Singh of Deogarh might benefit from the prudent clemency shown his colleague of Chanda and be allowed remission of his arrears of tribute. Aurangzīb brings up fresh arguments, but in vain. Using his favourite weapon of irony, he rather insolently dares the Emperor to name the man who alleged such vast wealth in elephants to be in Kesrī Singh's hands: a hit at the Rajah of Chanda.

It is not mere meteorological curiosity that induces Aurangzīb to mention the failure of the kharīf crop through unseasonable weather. No crop meant no share for Government, and a corresponding fall in total revenue. Aurangzīb, by giving early information, preserves himself from a renewed charge of slack administration.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Acknowledgement of a royal letter in response to one of Aurangzīb's, written in the secretaries' office, with some words in the Emperor's own hand added at the beginning (dibācha).

Formal thanks.

A world-obeyed order was issued: "There is no reason why the zamīndār of Deogarh<sup>1</sup> should be excused payment of the arrears of his tribute on the grounds of poverty. Against this zamīndār marched that great warrior the late Khān-i-Daurān, relieving him of 170 elephants and a large amount in cash.<sup>2</sup> Reports have recently reached Us, that he has more than 200

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1. One of the Gond states south of the Nerbudda; the city stands about 60 miles N.W. of Nāgpūr, and about 20 miles S.W. of Chindwāra.

2. In the cold weather of 1636-37. The Emperor has possibly quoted the text of the official chronicle: compare Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār's Aurangzīb, Vol. I, p. 42.

elephants, among them a male named Jayā Sangrām.<sup>1</sup> The Deccan officers do not have adequate equipment; so, when the rains are over send someone with a large Imperial force, and a number of your own men, against him. If you wish, you may appoint the hereditary slave of the Court Muḥammad Sultān (to command it); if not, (choose) a reliable and experienced officer. That renowned (nāmī) elephant, and (every) other elephant, must be seized, and the arrears of the zamīndār's tribute collected."

Hail to the saintly protector! I am a disciple of the true guide; he has brought me up. I make a habit of collecting as many reports as I can upon the lands adjacent to this province; (wilāyat-i-aṭṭrāf wa jawānib-i-īn mamlukat) whenever an opportunity for such a profitable campaign offers itself, (agar chunān kār wa khidmatī rūī dahad). I always mobilise the army (sipāh-rā mu'aṭṭil nadāshta) and set it on the march. How therefore could I suffer the zamīndār of Deogarh, despite the resources and riches he possesses,<sup>2</sup> to neglect his obligation to pay his tribute out of mere contumacy and arrogance?

Of his own accord, he came to Burhānpūr, without any army being sent against him; and waited upon me, promising to pay his set tribute. Upon this, I sent one of my men to inspect his elephants; he remained three months in the Deogarh territory, and gained an intimate knowledge of affairs there (wa jamī' marātib wāqif gashta). He has reported that Kesrī Singh has no more than fourteen elephants.

Moreover, it was against this zamīndār's father (Kukia)<sup>3</sup> that the late Khān marched, when the dissipation of the (ancestral) property had not yet begun. The elephants taken from the old zamīndār had been collected over many years; but

1. Jayā Sangrām is the form in I.O. and most likely correct. N. has Jatā Sangrām (an error) and notes two variants: Hīna Shankar (sic) in M, and Jatā Shankar in N. B.M. has Jayā Sangar throughout; but it is a less appropriate title for an elephant than Jayā Sangrām, "Victory in Battle"; "Victory in Bargain", or "Victory in the Entrenchments" is the meaning of the other title.

2. Sc., if he were really (bā wujūd) so rich and powerful?

3. Compare Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār's Aurangzīb, Vol. I, p. 184.



the present zamīndār is very extravagant, (musrif)<sup>1</sup> and his profligate habits have brought on his ruin. He is now reduced to utter distraction through his lack of prudence and his failure to govern efficiently.

If an army be sent to exact arrears of tribute from him, the only result would be the ruin of his state. When I submitted my report to the Court of the Caliphate, I paid special attention to the importance of (ensuring that) his annual tribute be regularly paid;<sup>2</sup> but now that a lofty mandate (not accepting my suggestions) has obtained the honour of issue, I recognise that my felicity lies in obeying it; and it shall be carried out.

Should it be the pleasure of the happy nature that Kesrī Singh's territories be incorporated into the protected dominions, I should be clearly commanded (to do it) (ḥukm-i-ṣarīḥ sharf-i-warūd yābad) I would then appoint Your Majesty's young slave (Muḥammad Sultān) (to lead the expedition) with a suitable army, as he eagerly desires to make a name for himself in such campaigns.<sup>3</sup> With the grace of almighty God, and the imperishable good fortune of the saintly protector, he would soon annihilate the zamīndār, (damār az ruzgār-i-ū barāwarda) annex the maḥāls of his zamīndārī to the Imperial khālīṣa, and leave no vestiges of that insolent fellow in the land.

Should those who stand at the foot of Solomon's throne intend (this expedition) to collect elephants as well as realise arrears of tribute, then any trusted Imperial officer Your Majesty may please might be appointed to lead the local forces against Deogarh, so that every single elephant in

1. B.M. has a marginal gloss: musrif: kharij kunanda bī jā.

2. Sc., rather than relying on the uncertain fruits of a costly punitive expedition.

3. Was Aurangzīb perhaps thinking of his first campaign in 1635, when he accompanied Khān-i-Daurān, Saiyid Khān-i-Jahān, and 'Abdu'llāh Khān Bahādur against Jhujār Singh of Orchha? Then, he was not quite seventeen; Muḥammad Sultān, born on 4 Ramaḥan, 1049/19 December, 1639, was nearly sixteen when given this opportunity of commencing his martial career. Compare Ma'āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī, (text) 534.

(Kesrī Singh's) hands might be seized by force, and the tribute realised.

Hail to my spiritual and temporal qiblah and ka'bah! I have sent men to search out (Kesrī Singh's) elephants, and will make every effort, despite (the results of) my previous investigation, (to ensure their success). Although nobody has heard of an elephant named Jayā Sangrām in the Deogarh territory, a hill-fort of that name is rumoured to exist; (mīguyand) it is remotely possible (mustaba'd minumāyad) that an elephant of that description might be there.

Had Kesrī Singh possessed such (fine) elephants, 'Umdatul Mulk Shāh Nawāz Khān<sup>1</sup> would surely have taken them in lieu of (cash) tribute when, at Your Majesty's command, he led the entire army of the Deccan against him; (or else) at that time Your Majesty would not have remitted a (large) amount out of his tribute on the grounds that he was capable of paying; nor would he have been (detained) at Burhānpūr for six months to ensure the payment of the balance.

It would be as well if the man who reported the existence of so many elephants, and described Jayā Sangrām to Your Majesty, were to present himself to me, and guide the victorious army to the place where those elephants (afiāl) may be found.

Hail to the qiblah of the necessities of all who live on earth! When it was time for the kharīf crop to be estimated in the Bālā Ghāt, there had been no rain at all. For fifteen or sixteen days after the time for sowing, it rained incessantly and the peasants had no chance to sow; so this year there will be no kharīf crop cultivated in most maḥals. In the environs of Daulatābād, rain began to fall, by the grace of God, on the fourteenth of this month; up to today, which is the twentieth, we have had good rain. I hope that the rabī' crop

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1. Prince Murād Bakhsh was nominal Viceroy from November 1647 to July 1648. Shāh Nawāz Khān, a scion of the Ṣafawī dynasty of Persia, married a sister of Aurangzīb's mother, Mumtāz Maḥāl. Aurangzīb's maternal uncle would not march north from Burhanpur with him in 1658 against his brother-in-law, Shāh Jahān. He died fighting for Dārā at Deorai in April, 1659. His life is given in Ma'āsiru'l Umarā, II (text), 670-676. Shāh Nawāz Khān's expedition, in 1649, lasted six weeks: between March and mid-April. See a certificate of service issued at the end of this "muḥimm-i-Deogarh" to four Hindu matchlock-men, presumably Telingas, in Selected Documents of Shāh Jahān's Reign, no. 77, p. 173.

will be all we can desire, (muṭābiq-i-mudda'ā nasq yāfta) and will partly make up for the loss of the kharīf crop (juz-i-nuqṣān-i-kharīf numāyad).

In Bījāpūr there has not been a drop of rain yet, and far less grain has been harvested there than usual.<sup>1</sup>

May the world-illumining sun of the Caliphate, which holds perpetual dominion over every clime, ever shine upon the heads of murīds!

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1. Were the harvests in Mughul Deccan good, and Bījāpūr to continue drought-stricken, the preponderating advantage in any attack might lie with the Mughuls: if they could only bring up provisions enough for themselves, which in 1657 and 1665 they failed to do.

LETTER 78

Aurangzib's well-reasoned representations against an expedition against Deogaṛh have failed. The Court (actuated perhaps by a lingering impression that the doubtful successes of Balkh and Badakhshān, and the almost ludicrous triple failure before Qandahār, should be effaced from its subjects' minds by displays of prowess more cheaply staged, and less likely to end badly) has resolved to press on. Aurangzib re-states his reservations, but complies.

It is worth noting, that he cautiously steps back from his enthusiastic declarations about Muḥammad Sultān's participation. His junior status, rather than his yearning for fame, is now the key note.

The Emperor nominated Hādīdād Khān as supreme commander; Aurangzib firmly yet respectfully declines to put any of his men under that elderly warrior's command.

The "connexion with several great nobles" which made Mīrzā Khan appear so suitable a commander of the second column was reinforced by his high birth; he was great-grandson of the famous minister Bairam Khān, and grandson of the first Khān-i-Khānān (1557-1628). There is a short note on him in Letter 70 (supra).

The sly dig at the mendacious Rāja of Chānda emphasises the hollowness of Shāh Jahān's hopes of great booty from Deogaṛh.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of two<sup>1</sup> letters, in answer to one of Aurangzib's, delivered successively; one entirely written by the Emperor, and the other transcribed in the secretaries' office.

Acknowledgement of a special robe of honour.

Formal thanks.

A world-obeyed order was issued: "If you can seize Deogaṛh, and retain it, send Muḥammad Sultān; otherwise send Hādīdād Khān,<sup>2</sup> with a good army under him."

Hail to the saintly protector! By the limitless grace of God, and with the happy aid of Your Majesty's never-failing

1. Chaudhurī omits dū, clearly by mistake.

2. Brother of Rashīd Khān Anṣārī; succeeded him as (deputy) governor of Telingāna in the 22nd year of Shāh Jahān, when he was given the title of Khān, and the rank of 2500/1500. Ma'āşiru'l Umarā (trans.) 597. He fought at Golconda in 1656, and died after the campaign.



good fortune, it will be quite easy to take the Deogarh territory; for it can be reduced with very little effort. To retain possession, however, and introduce settled government, would not be free from difficulty.<sup>1</sup>

If it is conquered we would gain nothing; rather we would spend far more each year in administering it than we would realise in revenue from it.

This is why the great nobles of the victorious state have not hitherto addressed their minds to the seizure of Deogarh, and have not incorporated it into the protected dominions. I, too, have borne these facts in mind, and have considered it inopportune to initiate a campaign against Deogarh; yet I wrote,<sup>2</sup> that if a definite command (ḥukm-i-jāzīm) to mount this expedition were issued, I would send Muḥammad Sultān, who is ready to assume the task.

Now I shall send the victorious Imperial army against Kesrī Singh, for such is the wish of the kingdom-adorning mind, the index of propriety. The army will exact the arrears of tribute, and the current instalment; it will seize by force (kām wa nā kām) all the elephants which the zamindār of Chanda alleges Kesrī Singh to possess, Jāya Sangrām included. Officers of the Court, sublime as the sky, have already been ordered to report themselves for duty from their various posts; when they have done so, they shall be sent against Deogarh in the manner commanded.

Hail to the spiritual and temporal qiblah and ka'bah! Hādīdād Khān is an experienced officer with a good retinue, but it is long since he has commanded a military expedition.<sup>3</sup> Some officers might perhaps be reluctant, therefore, to serve with him. Non-co-operation, and enmity between them, could ruin the whole campaign.

1. More freely, "it can be easily conquered, but not so easily held or controlled ..." Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār's Aurangzīb, Vol. I, P. 185.

2. Letter 77, *supra*.

3. He was in the largest contingent (Saiyid Khān-i-Jahān's) against Jhujār Singh in 1635, and then served with Khān-i-Daurān. The life in M.U., by 'Abdu'l Ḥayy, does not say that he was in the Deogarh expedition of 1637, but he well may have been; this would explain why Shāh Jahān nominated him to command now. The correspondence does not show any further reason why Aurangzīb did not want him in sole command. Personal preferences and prejudices, perhaps?

As this is the case it seems wise, that the victorious armies should march against Deogarh by two (separate) routes, and it has occurred to my feeble mind, that half the Deccani forces might be placed under Mirza Khan,<sup>1</sup> whose connexion with (several) great nobles (ki ba sabab-i-intisāb ... ba umarāī 'azzām) will ensure, that none will disdain to act with him. My own men will march under the command of (sarkārdagī) Muḥammad Tahir,<sup>2</sup> or of another of the nobles in Your Majesty's confidence, with<sup>3</sup> Mīrzā Khān.

Not long ago I despatched to the sublime Court the elephants sent by Qutbu'l Mulk. They are in the charge of Badī'u'z-zamān, a servant of the heaven-centred government, recently appointed dārogha of these beasts. If his fortune favours him, and he keeps the elephants in good order (until) he parades them before Your Majesty,<sup>4</sup> (az nazr-i-anwar-i-athar guzrānad) he will have been well worthy of his hire. Further boldness would exceed the bounds of delicacy.

The deciphered version (tarjuma) of a (coded) letter recently received from Mīr Muḥammad Sa'id has been sent to the luminous Presence.

May the world-warming sun of the clime-crushing Caliphate continue to coruscate from the horizon of majesty and command!

1. Two documents published in Selected Documents of Shāh Jahān's Reign refer to this expedition. One, dated 7 Muḥarram 1066/21 October 1655, directs 'Abdu'r Raḥīm and other artillerymen to join Mīrzā Khān; (pp. 197-198) the other, dated 12 Muḥarram 1066/1 November 1655, relates that Muḥammad Yūsuf, son of Shāh Beg Khān, "who was formerly in the force (fauj) under Mīrzā Khān, and is now in the force under Hādīdād Khān" holds the rank of 300 zāt and 100 sawar (p. 198). It would appear that there may have been tension between Shāh Beg Khān and Mīrzā Khān.

2. Muḥammad Tahir Khurāsānī had served him since he first went to the Deccan in 1636; left by Aurangzib in 1658 as governor of Khāndesh, was ennobled on that occasion as Wazīr Khān: B.M. 251B, I.O. 307A: his life in M.U. III (text) 936-940.

3. Bā, not yā. Nadwi reads yā, obscuring the point that Aurangzib wishes to avoid favouring Hādīdād Khān; why else would he have sought to divide the command? B.M. reads clearly bā; Chaudhurī has bā; I.O. is no help, as there are no dots.

4. Compare A'in-i-Akbarī, Book I, No. 72.

LETTER 79

Aurangzīb dismisses the now concluded Deogaṛh campaign in a few words.

The Emperor's complaint about the elephant received from Qutbu'l Mulk is neatly turned by Aurangzīb; the elephant was offered to him, he turned it over to the Imperial government as a loyal gesture; but Qutbu'l Mulk, learning of its arrival at Court, began to clamour for its being credited to his tribute. By undertaking not to "diverge from a proper course of conduct" Aurangzīb seems to suggest that he will accept no more gifts from Qutbu'l Mulk.

Dānda and Rājpurī, far from the centre of Mughul power in the Deccan, and separated from it by the Western Ghats, had to wait several years before coming briefly under Mughul power. We hear no more of their proposed acquisition in this correspondence.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a letter written in the secretariat in response to one from Aurangzīb (no dates for either).

Formal thanks.

Strict commands (qadghan-i-balīgh) have been issued to Mīrzā Khān and Hādīdād Khān to gather in the whole of the (outstanding) tribute, and to seize all the elephants, including Jayā Sangrām, from the zamīndār of Deogaṛh. Through Your Majesty's imperishable good fortune, this business shall (God willing) be brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and every single one of Kesrī Singh's elephants will be taken from him.

Upon the elephant which I took from Qutbu'l Mulk and presented as peshkash to the Court, the asylum of the world, a lofty mandate has found the nobility of promulgation: "We have not been pleased to accept this elephant as a peshkash from you; Qutbu'l Mulk shall be credited (ba mujrī dādah khwahad shud) with its value". Such practices (as yours) are far from good policy."

Hail to the saintly protector! Through my good fortune in

having been trained by the perfect guide, I have never been (even) suspected of any bad conduct (sū'ī mu'āmalat).<sup>1</sup> Had I known that Quṭbu'l Mulk would make difficulties, I would certainly have allowed the value of the elephant to be deducted (from his tribute), (chiguna qīmat-i-ān fīl rā ba ū mujrī namīdād). On learning what has happened, Quṭbu'l Mulk has begun to entertain some hope of (Your Majesty's) favour. This is obvious from the letter he sent to his resident ambassador (at Court) which, through my agent's mediation, will have been perused by Your Majesty. I therefore accepted that elephant from him; and, thinking that it would be to the financial advantage of the exalted government, wished to present it as a peshkash. As what I have done is unsatisfactory to Your Majesty, I shall not act so again, and shall not diverge from a proper course of conduct.

The fort of Dāndā Rājpurī has not been added (yet) to the Imperial territories as was commanded when I was directed to proceed hither; I accordingly consider it incumbent (upon me) to submit a report on the matter now.<sup>2</sup>

May the sheltering shade of the Caliphate ever protect us!

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1. This must be taken as a rhetorical flourish, in view (e.g.) of Letter 72, *supra*.

2. The report was presumably attached to this letter. Dāndā and Rājpurī were twin forts opposite the headland where Janjīra now stands.



LETTER 80

The campaign against Deogarh is over, and Aurangzīb turns to a less costly conquest: that of the small territory of Jawar in the mountainous country west of Nasik. But Imperial resources will not be expended: the cost will be borne by a feudatory Rajah, Rao Karan of Bikanīr.

Whatever differences Aurangzīb might have had with Hādīdād Khān, he does not evade his duty of recommending fresh honours for a capable commander; we must assume Hādīdād managed his men well against Deogarh, for otherwise the flag and drum (high distinctions still) would not have been granted.

The Emperor's command that an elephant-hunt be staged in the wilds of Sultānpūr discloses another of the means by which the Imperial fīlkhāna was replenished.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a letter  
"indited in jewelled words by the gem-scattering pen"  
(no date given)

Formal thanks.

I noted the most sacred commands, which must be obeyed, and the very day (the farmān arrived) I told the wise and experienced Multafit Khān of its contents. Your Majesty will have read the letter which he despatched to the foot of the lofty throne as a reply to the sacred command.<sup>1</sup>

A world-obeyed order acquired the elegance of promulgation: "The elephant-hunting season is here. Send one of your intelligent men to Sultānpūr, to construct a stockade (to drive the elephants into) (kheda)<sup>2</sup> in concert with the local jāgīrdār.

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1. The substance of the farmān does not appear in the surviving correspondence.

2. This is the "khedda" of Mysore elephant-hunts.

Hail to the true preceptor and guide! Last year, I made arrangements for the elephant-hunt; I sent my men to Sultānpūr to organise it with the help of Sazāwār Khān. But, despite kind treatment from us, the Bhīls there proved refractory, and did not do their duty as guides. They pointed out very few wild elephants, and no more than seven, male and female, were caught. As not one of them was fit to be sent to the luminous Presence, I did not feel that I could submit a report upon the hunt.

This year, none of the necessary arrangements has been made, although this is the elephant-hunting season. By the time all is ready, it will be too late. I have therefore decided, that this year will be devoted to arranging all the necessary equipment and gathering provisions. Almighty God willing, everything will be done next year exactly as your Majesty wishes.

Hail to the qiblah of hopes and the ka'bah of desires! Hādīdād Khān enjoys a manṣab of 2500 zāt and 2500 sawār, and is serving as ṣubahdār of Baglāna.<sup>1</sup> He is maintaining the full retinue, properly equipped. He deserves the honour of the grant of a banner and a drum.<sup>2</sup>

Hail to the saintly preceptor! Placing his foot beyond the path of propriety the zamindar of Jawār<sup>3</sup> has had the hardihood to commit acts worthy the deepest contempt. He shows a slothful reluctance to perform even the slightest of the services expected of him, despite the fact that no tribute has yet been fixed upon him to pay to the sublime government.

It is essential to punish such short-sighted men, as a warning to others. Rāo Karan, a zealous hereditary servant of the exalted court, has undertaken to present fifty thousand

1. A post he had (presumably) recently received, as he had been serving as ṣubahdār of Telingāna since 1648-49.

2. He got it in the 29th year (1655-1656): Ma'āṣiru'l Umarā (translation) 597. See also Letter 82, *infra*.

3. Jawār (Jawhār) lies on the road from Nasik through Trimbak to Dahānū on the coast, about equidistant from Nasik and Dahānū. It remained a Native State until independence. See, for further information, the note at the end of this letter.

rupees to the public treasury, and to incorporate Jawār into the protected dominions, administering it with his own men, if Your Majesty will allow him to hold it as in'ām, or by way of increased salary (as a tan-jāgīr).<sup>1</sup>

I therefore hope that I may have the honour of being guided by anything which may cast the brilliance of its appropriateness upon the heart of angelic penetration.

May the sheltering shade of the Caliphate protect in perpetuity the whole human race!

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1. The Jawār territories were in the hands of a Kolī dynasty at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and remained so until independence. That dynasty claimed that its ancestor had seized the area by a stratagem in 1294. Clearly the Rāthors of Bikanīr did not long remain in possession; for in the eighteenth century the Kolīs were again in control, resisting as best they could the pressure of the Marāthas.

The most likely explanation lies in the later career of Rāo Karan. When Shāh Jahān, after the crisis of his illness was past, recalled the imperial officers sent to the Deccan on the Bījāpūr campaign, Rāo Karan used the occasion to retire to Bikanīr, even though he, as one of the ta'binān-i Dakan, was not included in the order.

The displeasure of the victorious Aurangzīb was marked; and a sign of it might have been an order that the new waṭan jāgīr of Rāo Karan be resumed into the khāliṣa. Gradually, perhaps, the former line was able to re-instate itself, upon the usual promises of peshkash.

For Rāo Karan's fate see Ma'āṣir'l Umarā, II, 289 (text). He died in disgrace at Aurangābād in 1077/1666-67.

LETTER 81

It is possible that Shāh Jahān's anxious desire to accumulate elephants in the cold weather of 1655-1656 was stimulated by the coming completion of thirty (lunar) years as Emperor. The actual celebrations, however, were not held until March 1657. It is not likely that they were wanted for any campaign.

The proposal Shāh Jahān now advances - to take elephants from Qutbu'l Mulk in lieu of half his tribute, and in addition to buy further elephants for cash, was extravagant indeed. As Aurangzīb quite delicately hints, the Emperor had made no provision for establishing a valuation!

It cannot be fear of being ignored, and must therefore be a slip of Sādiq Muṭṭalibī's editorial pen, that Aurangzīb should appear to repeat the proposal he made for the conquest of Jawār, in almost identical language. To repeat himself thus without any explanation or excuse would have seemed to the Emperor discourteously presumptuous. It is probable that Munshī Abu'l Fath kept two versions of this particular recommendation, and that the one not used accidentally became incorporated in another of the letters he selected for preservation.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a royal letter written in the Emperor's hand (no date given)

Formal thanks.

Hail to the saintly preceptor! When the order (about the elephant-hunt) was being passed (at Court), I had already told Qutbu'l Mulk of Your Majesty's strict orders (that elephants be supplied). He had not then furnished a reply on that point, so I delayed writing to Your Majesty.

He has now been apprised of the contents of the lofty farmān addressed to him and delivered by 'Abdu'l Laṭīf the brother of Mu'izzu'l Mulk, telling him to send elephants (to Court). He has accordingly set arrangements on foot for their despatch. The servant of the heaven-centred government, Muḥammad Mūmin, had reached Golconda on his way back from Mīr Jumla's camp; so I wrote him strict orders to take every elephant, male or female, which Qutbu'l Mulk could bring in, (and to offer) a rebate of half the metallic value of his regular cash tribute in exchange ('iwaz-i-niṣf-i-zar-i-muqarrarī). I have also given instructions along the same



lines to Qutbu'l Mulk's permanent resident (at my court).

A world-obeyed command has acquired the adornment of issue: "Take one lakh of rupees from the public treasury (at Daulatābād), and send it with a trustworthy and reliable escort to Golconda, to buy elephants."

Hail to the true preceptor and guide! There not so many elephants to be had at Golconda these days as before, and they are dear (girān ba dast miyāyad). In obedience, however, to the exalted command, which incorporates the felicity of fleshly and ghostly secrets (har dū sirrān), I shall soon send a confidential servant of mine to Golconda with a quantity of cash, the property of the government firm-fixed as the revolving sphere. He will buy elephants, and despatch his purchases to the Court, the asylum of the world. If the price is fair, and the elephants are satisfactory to Your Majesty, he may be sent again.

I shall do my utmost to send fine mangoes to Your Majesty. I hope my labours will be acceptable to the most sacred will, and will be a source of satisfaction to all slaves.

Hail to the qiblah of hopes, and the ka'bah of desires! Placing his foot beyond the path of propriety, the zamīndār of Jawār is engaging in improper acts. Even though he pays no tribute to the sublime government, he is failing in his obligations of service to the Empire. Unless such short-sighted men are punished, others will never learn the lesson.

Rāo Karan, a zealous hereditary servant of the Court, the refuge of rulers, has undertaken to present fifty thousand rupees to the public treasury, if Your Majesty will allow him to hold Jawār in in'ām, or by way of increased salary as tan-jāgīr. He will undertake its administration (himself), and will exert himself to the full in conciliating the peasantry, and arranging affairs in the best interests of the Empire.

I therefore hope, that I may have the honour of being guided by anything which, casting its brilliance upon the heart of angelic penetration, may be commanded out of the solicitude of the kingdom-adorning mind, brilliant as the sun.

May the world-warming sun of the Caliphate remain ever  
bright in its station of felicity!

LETTER 82

This short letter reports the conclusion of the Jawār campaign, acknowledges the banner and drum conferred upon Hādīdād Khān, and states that arrangements for an elephant hunt are being continued.

Shāh Jahān now at last accepted Aurangzīb's recommendation that Rāo Karan be promoted.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a farman written in the secretariat (no date given)

Formal thanks.

It has been a source of pride and glory to Rāo Karan, that (Your Majesty) has granted him an increase of 500 sawār, and has settled Jawār on him at an assessment of 40,000 dāms (Rs. 1000) as the salary appropriate to the increase.

As ordered, I have given him Jawār (in jāgīr), the peshkash he offered has been received, and shall be paid into the public treasury. If a royal letter confirming the grant were to acquire the honour of being addressed to him, and if Jawar were graciously conferred upon him as a waṭan-jāgīr, both his dignity and his zeal would be even further increased.

Hail to the saintly protector!

Some time ago, Rāo Karan's manṣab was reduced by 500 zat. Now that he has been so notably exalted by Your Majesty's measureless generosity, he entertains hopes that the amount deducted from his zat rank might be restored, (ba ḥal ḥukm shawad)<sup>1</sup> and the appropriate salary for it charged upon the revenues of Jawār.

(Your Majesty's) acceptance of my request that Hādīdād Khān be granted a banner and a drum has given fresh bloom to the garden of slaves' hopes. May Almighty God keep the lofty shadow, solicitous of the least significant beings, of the ka'bah of desires spread over the heads of all mankind!

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1. I.O. omits ḥukm.

I shall use every effort and endeavour to carry out the lofty mandate upon the elephant hunt. In fact, a body of men is already detailed to make the necessary arrangements,<sup>1</sup> and to search out (tafaḥḥus) wild elephants.

May the world-warming sun of the Caliphate remain bright upon the horizon of grandeur!

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1. Or, "to collect the necessary equipment": ba saranjām-i-zarūrīyāt-i-īn kār.



LETTER 83

In this letter, Aurangzīb unfolds the desperate last efforts of the representative of once mighty Vijayanagar to secure protection for himself and his remaining territories. To such straits is he reduced, that he offers not only an impossibly generous tribute, but also to submit himself to circumcision and "the honour of Islām".

Aurangzīb descants upon the spiritual benefits and moral example of Śrī Ranga's proffered conversion. What was really in his mind was the important political sequel; if he became a Muslim, and threw himself on the Imperial protection, there would be a further pretext for continued interference, and perhaps even territorial expansion, in the Carnatic.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Brief conventional salutations.

Recently Śrī Ranga Rāyal, grandson of Rāma Rāja, sent a Brahmin, one of his trusted servants, by way of Golconda to me. Śrī Ranga is the principal zamīndār of the Carnatic. His grandfather (jadd) was renowned (shuhūrtī dāsht) for his wealth and splendour; yet [he sent me] but a single elephant, very lean, which will, however, be paraded before Your Majesty after fattening.

With the utmost humility, he represented [to me], that in the last few years 'Adil Khān and Qutbu'l Mulk have, with Your Majesty's gracious leave, invaded (dast-i-taṣarruf ... dārāz kardā) the Carnatic, and have brought almost all of it under their control (ba zabt). Together they are striving to oust him [even] from those of his ancestral territories (mulk-i-maurūṣī) which they have not yet occupied, and ruin him entirely (ū rā ... mutalliḡan musta'ṣil sāzand).

Now it is clear to all the world ('ālamīyān) that the Deccan rulers had not the strength to do this on their own, and that all their acts, past and present, are done with the support of the Court, the asylum of the universe, which sustains them on all sides. Therefore Śrī Ranga has taken refuge at this threshold, the haven of felicity. He hopes that the qibla of men's necessities will extend patronage to him, and raise him from the dust of dejection by ordering his territories to be admitted into the protected dominions.

[He asks] that a sacred and exalted command be directed to the Deccan rulers, that they respect the engagements made by their ancestors, ('ahd wa paimān-i-padarān-i-khwud pās dāshta) that they not overstep their former boundaries, and finally that they lay no hand upon Śrī Ranga's ancestral lands.

As a gift in gratitude for this kind condescension he offers to collect and present to the sublime court a peshkash of 50,000 hūn, two hundred elephants, and jewels of great price. (jawāhir-i-girān bahā) He will also send, each year, curiosities and precious things double the value of the peshkash of the Deccan rulers, (iẓa'āf-i-ānchi ānha peshkash mīnumāyad) which have been collected over many years. (ki andukhta-i-sālhā'ī ast)<sup>1</sup>.

Should the brilliance of Your Majesty's grace not yet be permitted to shine upon his condition out of contempt for his idolatry (ba sabab-i-'ār-i-kufr) he would, after the lofty farmān has been issued granting his requests, enter the circle of the people of Islām, (ba zumra-i-ahl-i-Islām daramāda) with all his followers and dependants, (bā tawābi' wa lawāḥiq-i-khwud) under the direction of the spiritual guide of all mankind. Through the good fortune of becoming a slave of the court of Your Majesty, the Shadow of God, he would gain both the true religion, and its worldly benefits (kāmyāb-i-dīn wa duniya khwahad shud).

When the translation of his letter<sup>2</sup> (tarjuma-i-'arzdāsht)

1. Qutbu'l Mulk was obliged to pay two lakhs of rupees, rated in 1636 at twenty thousand hūn, but slowly sinking in value against gold over the next twenty years, as Letter 94 will disclose. 'Adil Khān paid an indemnity in 1636, but no annual tribute was levied from him. Dr Mu'īnu'l Ḥaq's attempts to show the contrary simply confuse that issue with 'Ali 'Adil Khān's subordinate status to Shah Jahan; an entirely different thing. ("Prince Awrangzib", p. 66 and note 124 thereon, where no authorities are quoted to support his contentions.) A peshkash of varying amount is not the same thing as a "peshkash-i-muqarrarī" - the phrase Aurangzīb uses of Qutbu'l Mulk's annual remittance; cf. Letter 68, supra, where it appears as an item in the Deccan budget. How the poor harried old Rayal was to raise the funds to meet his promises does not appear.

2. Possibly written in Sanskrit, not Telugu; unlikely to have been written in a cipher such as Mīr Jumla used.

revealed all this<sup>1</sup>, including his request [for admission to Islam], I felt it improper (munāsib ... nadīd) that the man who brought the elephant should be sent back to Śrī Ranga without my making a report to Your Majesty. I did this because it was not proper that a matter such as this, which has been entered into the official news-reports, should be concealed from Your Majesty. Moreover, I saw in the Rāyal's acceptance of Islām several advantages for the state<sup>2</sup>; and certainly it would bring great spiritual benefits (mashūbat-i-ukhrawiy nīz bar ān marātib) if the leading zamīndār of the Carnatic should become a Muslim.

I have therefore detained the Rāyal's agent, and am treating him in the most conciliatory manner. I have delayed replying to 'Adil Khān until the world-obeyed mandate should arrive<sup>3</sup>, so that I might be guided by the decision of the kingdom-adorning mind, brilliant as the sun, and act accordingly.

Hail to my gibla and ka'ba! Since the Rāyal has approached the Court, the refuge of creation, in full faith as a suppliant, he has recognised that service as a loyal slave, and acceptance of Islām, are the way of his salvation; (wasīla-i-najāt) so he has sought shelter from the disasters of this world (hawādīṣ-i-rozgār) at the threshold of the Caliphate, the refuge of the notables of every quarter of the globe (nāmwarān-i-shash jihat). It is therefore incumbent upon the guardians of the lands of Islām (bar zimmat-i-himmat-i-ḥamīyān-i-ḥauza-i-Islām) to propagate the principles and practices of the true religion<sup>4</sup> and the firm faith and to invite the

1. I.O. has ba zahūr superscript between rasīd and nīz. Nadwī omits it, following the tradition of B.M.: and notes no variant. Chaudhuri has ba waṣuḥ.

2. nazr ba maṣālih-i-mulkī chandīn fawā'id dar zimn-i-ān mutaṣauwar ast. Nadwī, <sup>etc.</sup> that S omits mulkī; but it is present in I.O., which offers another example of the lesser reliability of the ms. Sir Jadunath Sarkar was obliged to use.

3. irsāl shawad. Nadwī, probably by mistake, has irsāl bashawad. The literal meaning of irsāl is, of course, to be sent, not to arrive; but the intended meaning here is clear enough.

4. Mss have dīn-i-matīn, "the firm faith" - a standard phrase. But Nadwī notes in S dīn-i-mutabayin, "the distinctly-explained faith".

wanderer amidst unbelief and error to forsake the desert of misdirection and disappointment<sup>1</sup> for the straight path (rāh-i-rāst)<sup>2</sup>.

Furthermore, the question of breaking any undertaking given to even the least of the servants of this Court does not arise<sup>3</sup>.

Should Śrī Ranga's request be accepted, and the brilliance of the exalted grace be bestowed upon him, it would be to our advantage in every way, both spiritual and temporal. However, anything which occurs to the heart of angelic penetration, the receptacle of sacred illuminations, is the essence of propriety, and murīds are obliged to obey it.

May the world-warming sun of grandeur and glory shine ever undimmed from the horizon of the Sultanate's good fortune!

1. tīha-i gumrahī, the reading of B.M. I.O. has taba kārī (sic) an obvious mistake. Ch. has the right reading; so has Nadwī.

2. This phrase is an echo of aṣ-sirāt-al-mustaḳīm of Qur'ān, I, 5.

3. To whom else can this refer, but Dārā? Aurangzīb probably means to say, that whatever hopes might have been held out to the Rayal, he was not in Muḡhul service, nor subject to Muḡhul suzerainty, and that nothing said need be regarded as binding; also, perhaps, that any doubts raised by Dārā about the propriety or policy of accepting his conversion might be ignored, now that he had of himself offered - even in desperation - to submit to Islam.



LETTER 84

The inevitable result of Śrī Ranga's gesture of submission follows: the two Deccan kings resolve to devour his remaining lands, before any help can come from the Mughul side. The Emperor meanwhile has cautiously sought assurances that Śrī Ranga's envoy is genuine in his professions. Aurangzib hastens to settle that doubt, and to press for the instant issue to the Deccan rulers of commands, drawn up but not despatched, that they hold off Śrī Ranga's territories; but the next letter shows that the entrapment of Śrī Ranga was not so greatly desired by Shāh Jahān.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a royal letter, signed by the Emperor, in response to Aurangzib's letter (no dates given for either)

Formal thanks.

A world-obeyed order acquired the adornment of issue: "Imperial farmāns addressed to the Deccan rulers have been prepared, in compliance with the request of the chief of the Carnatic, ordering them to raise the hand of their plunder and pillage from his lands. Copies of those letters, ineluctable as the decree of destiny (manāshir-i-qazā'ta'sīr) have been sent to you. Two years and a half ago, one Rānā Rāo, who claimed (khud rā ... wā namūda) to be an envoy of the Carnatic chief, laid various matters before Us through the mediation of the wise vizier. These may be read in the copy of his petition. [sent you herewith] As his suggestions were impracticable (dūr az kār)-mere empty words (maḥz-i-guzāf)-no steps were taken to send any farmāns. If the man who has come to you is the same who came to the sublime Court, nothing he says is worth hearing. If he is another man, entrust your nishān in answer to the petition he brings to some reliable person, such as 'Abdu'l Ma'būd, or someone else [equally] trustworthy and intelligent. And then, if your envoy reports from the Carnatic that the man [given audience by you] is indeed in Śrī Ranga's service, and that everything he has told you accords with Śrī Ranga's instructions, the farmāns already drawn up in the names of the Deccan rulers will be sent to them."

Hail to the saintly and pure-hearted preceptor! This Rānā Rāo came to me some time ago, making the same proposals as he had laid before the Court. They were, as Your Majesty has perceived, nothing but idle boasting, (lāf wa guzāfī-i-besh namud) and I did not venture to submit them to Your Majesty. But now the Rāyal's confidential Brahmin [servant] Śrī Nivās has come here by way of Golconda, bringing a single elephant as peshkash, and giving an undertaking on the Rāyal's behalf that he would both accept Islām, and pay in cash and kind a large tribute, as specified in his letter; this matter must not be overlooked, (aghaz az ān munāsib nadīd) and I have thought it imperative that it should be reported to Your Majesty. Now that [Your Majesty's] far-seeing wisdom and God-given knowledge, selecting always the best course, has been pleased to institute an enquiry into the matter<sup>1</sup>, I shall, as commanded, send 'Abdu'l Ma'bud or someone else to the Carnatic, with a nishān in response to the Rāyal's letters. He will thoroughly investigate the true state of those parts, acquaint himself with Śrī Ranga's real intentions, determine how much of his promises he can perform and how much he cannot (ṣidq wa kazb-i-ta'hudāt-i-ū rā imtiḥān namūda<sup>2</sup> and submit a report.

Upon hearing that the zamīndār of the Carnatic has, by his promise to become a Muslim, put himself under the protection (mulhiq gashta) of the Court, the refuge of Sultans, the Deccan rulers have instructed their generals (who have been in those parts for some time) to do all they can to possess themselves of the poor remnants of territory still in his hands<sup>3</sup>, and settle Śrī Ranga once and for all before any world-obeyed order should reach them. The enforcement of our policy would be greatly delayed, [if action is postponed] until my envoy reaches the

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1. The reading of this passage is an amalgam of the texts transmitted by B.M. and I.O. Nadwī omits aknun at the beginning of the sentence; I.O. omits the words partau-i-tawajjuh bar tahqiq-i-īn ma'nī andākhta and.

2. Nadwī appears to read kazb wa ta'hudāt; an error.

3. B.M. reads: ke ba jidd-i-har chi tamāntar dar intizā'-i-andak jā'ī, ki ba taṣarruf-i-ū mānda, kashīda. Nadwī follows this. Chaudhurī prefers the reading of I.O., which has .... dar andak intizā'-i-ja'ī ... Thus to apply andak to time, rather than the extent of Śrī Ranga's land, seems less appropriate to the context.

Carnatic and makes his report, and I submit it to Your Majesty, and orders are passed that the farmāns [already prepared] be despatched. It is likely that by then the plans of the Deccan rulers will have come to fruition. It would be best if the kingdom-adorning mind, brilliant as the sun, were to decide that they should arrest their career of plunder<sup>1</sup> and rapine in the Rāyal's territories until my envoy reports back to me; but of course anything which might occur to the most sacred heart is the essence of propriety.

May the world-illuminating sun of the Caliphate continue to shine upon the heads of men!

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1. I.O. seems to have tahīyat (arrangement) for nahīb (plunder).

LETTER 85

This letter contains two disappointments for Aurangzīb. The first is the Emperor's sudden reversal: no envoy should have been sent to Śrī Ranga, but his difficulties ought instead have been made the pretext for extracting money from the Deccan kings. Aurangzīb points out that the envoy, travelling slowly, has been halted; then argues ably that direct intervention in Śrī Ranga's favour would best serve the Imperial interests. In pointing out that the Deccan kings presume too much upon the Emperor's countenance, Aurangzīb hits at the influence Dara wielded in their favour.

Next, Aurangzīb finds himself confronted with the secret arrangement, made with Shujā' during their brief meeting at Agra in December 1652 [Letter 45, supra], that a daughter of Shujā' should marry his eldest son Muhammad Sultān, while one of his daughters (perhaps Zebu'n-nisā) should marry Shujā' 's son Zainu'l 'abidīn. The best defence against the Emperor's wrath is a protestation of abject submission, which Aurangzīb accordingly makes; without, however, offering to cancel his agreement.

This letter also contains the news of the canny Mīr Jumla's composition with Qutbu'l Mulk, designed to leave him in freedom in the Carnatic without being obliged to come to Golconda and put his person in his sovereign's power. Thus secure, Mīr Jumla was enabled to play each of the three rulers who sought his services off against the other.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God! /

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of two royal letters, delivered successively (ba tawātīr-i-waṣūl) written in the Emperor's hand throughout, (sarāsar muzāiyīn ba khat-i-walā namat-i-mubārak) in response to Aurangzīb's letter (no date for either.)

Short formal thanks.

The pearl-scattering pen wrote these jewelled lines: "It was a mistake (munāsib nabūd) to send an envoy to the Rāja of the Carnatic. You should have frightened (tarsānīda) both the Deccan rulers<sup>1</sup> into offering a handsome peshkash, both to yourself and to the heaven-centred Court."

Hail to the true preceptor and guide! By means of accepting the honour of Islām, the Rāja seeks the protection of

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1. har dū duniyadār in mss; but Nadwī prefers the plural, noting the singular in S and B. Chaudhurī also has duniyādārān; his ms. appears to read dīnār!



the Court, the refuge of rulers; and he has also promised to pay a large peshkash. I have mentioned this to Your Majesty several times.<sup>1</sup> Further, the Deccan rulers<sup>2</sup> have occupied most of his lands, seizing all their treasures, both above ground and below. (khazā'in wa dafā'in) Out of all that great booty, they have sent no proper peshkash to the sublime Court; rather, they have failed entirely to recollect that obligation. These facts too I have represented to Your Majesty.

Furthermore, when I was commanded to send a servant of the exalted government to investigate the claims of the zamīndār of the Carnatic, I knew well, that as soon as [the Deccan rulers] heard he had submitted to the threshold of the Court, (rujū' ... ba āstan-i-khilāfat) and sent his agent to me, they would fear lest the light [of success] might shine upon his plans. (kār-i-ū rā raunaqī padīd āyad)

'Ādil Khān in particular has redoubled his efforts to ruin him. Just recently 'Ādil Khān has wrested the fort of Vellore from him, the finest fort in the Carnatic; and he is now trying to take from him the excellent elephants, assembled [for offering as] a peshkash to the lofty Court, and [finally] to exterminate him utterly.

Because the Deccan rulers rely far beyond their rights upon Your Majesty's trust and generosity, mere words will not attain our objects (az īn guft-o-gūha jā'ī nakhwahad girift). Unless obedience-compelling farmāns are issued to them, as I have previously asked, [and unless] an officer is sent to the Carnatic to ascertain whether the beams of imperial aid and succour ought be graciously suffered to light upon the zamīndār<sup>4</sup>, they will slumber on in the sleep of self-delusion,<sup>5</sup> and will

1. Letters 82 & 84, supra.

2. īn dū duniyādār (B.M. & I.O.) duniyadārān (Nadwī and Chaudhurī).

3. mss īlūr. Chaudhurī notes that his ms reads āblū, but restores īlūr. Nadwī prefers to the reading Wīlūr of his own ms, N, the reading of his ms M, generally rather bad, and has qila'-i-īlūrā (sic) perhaps thinking of Ellore (Eluru) between the mouths of the Godavery and the Krishna.

4. reading zamīndār-i-anjā, and discarding I.O.'s zamīndār az ānjā.

5. az khwab-i-pindār bīdār nagashta. Why Nadwī notes nagashta in his B (which is the mss reading, and the obvious meaning) and then prefers gashta is not clear. Chaudhurī has nagashta.

not bestir themselves<sup>1</sup> to prepare a peshkash for the Court.

As commanded [earlier], I have [already] despatched to the Carnatic Muḥammad Mūmin, an officer of the sublime government; but I have told him to proceed slowly on his way.

(dar qat'-i-maṣā'il ta'annī ba kār burd) Sending him might awaken the Deccan rulers from their dreams, and give them the chance of sending a worthy peshkash to the Court, exalted as the sky. The real value of the promises (sidq-i-ta'ḥudāt) of the Carnatic chief might also become apparent.

We have no object in this affair but (ba juz-i- ... amrī manẓūr nabūd) the promotion of the honour of Islām, and the interests of the everlasting state. I shall esteem above all else obedience to anything which the kingdom-adorning mind may now decide. Muḥammad Mūmin has not yet crossed the border of the Golconda territories, but is awaiting fresh instructions. I have prevented him (mana' namūd) from going on to the zamīndār of the Carnatic.

Since the heart of angelic penetration has resolved to show kindness to Mīr Jumla, the servant of Quṭbu'l Mulk, [I might point out that] the letter from him, which I have already sent to the Court, shows that he is awaiting an envoy from us. (firistāda-i-īn jānib) Muḥammad Mūmin is not wanting in wit and intelligence; so I have written to him, saying that since he is [encamped] near Mīr Jumla's army, he should go to him, and use all his art (har wajahī ki dānad) to conciliate him, and assure him of our good intentions; returning after he is certain of his success.

Hail to my giblah and ka'bah! Our ambassador at Golconda, 'Abdu'l Latif, reports that Quṭbu'l Mulk is re-establishing friendly relations (taḥ-i-maṣāliḥ andakhta) with Mīr Jumla. He has confirmed the offices and lands he previously held. Mīr Jumla has promised that after two years he will either wait upon Quṭbu'l Mulk<sup>2</sup>, or resign from his service (tārik-i-naukarī karda) and set out on pilgrimage to the

1. I.O. nakhwāhad; B.M. & Nadwī nakhwāhand

2. ba dīdan-i-Quṭbu'l Mulk biāyad; however, I.O. has biyābad very clearly; a manifest error.

Holy Places. ('azīmat-i-ziyārat-i-ḥaramain-i-sharīfain).

His son Muhammad Amīn, who appears to have both wisdom and capacity, and who acts as his father's deputy in Ḥaidarābād, entrusted with the management of all his affairs, writes to me, however, that he is certain that if, through the boundless imperial mercy, Mīr Jumla is honoured to the extent of his hopes and desires, he would come over to the Court, the refuge of creation; for he is unsure of Qutbu'l Mulk's intentions, and his present agreement with him arises out of his immediate necessities. (In qārār banābar maṣliḥat-i-waqt ba miyān āwurda). He would certainly ask help<sup>1</sup> [from us] if I were to make a formal agreement (qaul-i-tālib) with him upon his future mansab and other matters, since 'Adil Khān and Qutbu'l Mulk would without doubt unite in girding the loins of their enmity against him. I should now like instructions upon the degree to which I should encourage his hopes of Imperial bounty; the place to which Imperial servants should be sent, to form an escort for him; and whether the men now with me will suffice, or whether more should be requisitioned from the Court.

Out of the most perfect solicitude and particular grace with which [Your Majesty] always treats me the jewel-scattering pen<sup>2</sup> condescended to write: "In Our foresight, We shall give commands for anything that We consider for the good of yourself and your sons. No occasion has yet arisen; (hanūz ham chīzī narafta) but what We order will surely please you."

Hail to the true preceptor and guide! It is perfectly clear to the brilliant mind, resembling the sun, and a mirror of the splendid flashes (tajallāt) of truth, that power belongs only to Almighty God (exalted be His might). Nothing, whether distasteful or desirable, whether honourable or degrading, can occur except by His will. To alter this situation is beyond the capacity of any man. May the climes [ruled over by Your Majesty] be exalted, and [superfluous] writing suppressed!

1. iltimās-i-imdād wa kūmak kunad. Mss have kumak, "a corps of auxiliaries (S.1050); but Nadwī's emendation, kūmak (S.1064- "help") seems better. But Chaudhurī retains kumak.

2. marqūm-i-qalam-i-gauhar fishān karāmat-i-raqam gardīda. Nadwī adds an intrusive phrase jawāhir raqm before gauhar fishān. The mss give no authority for the addition. His usually unreliable M happens to be right here.

Praised be Almighty God, that no desires remain in my heart, through the good fortune of my gibla and the provider of all my comforts! My only prayer is, that God may confirm the lofty shadow of Your Majesty in perpetual existence; and I hope that the few days of my borrowed life (ḥayāt-i-musta'ār) may be brought to their conclusion under Your Majesty's sheltering shadow in the same manner as I have lived so far. In such circumstances, the existence or otherwise of human relations of this kind (ba'z rawātib) (sc., marriage) should be a matter of indifference.

However, since the sole purpose of my desires is the gratification of the noble heart in all things, and since I am sure that any guidance that may be given me will be for my own good in every case, I regard the pleasure and contentment of the true preceptor and guide as my own happiness, both spiritual and temporal. To his truth-loving hands I have entrusted the reins of my own free choice, and of that of my family. Unless marriage contracts are entered into with perfect openness on both sides (Īn qism-i-rabṭhā tā az tarafain ba zahūr niyāyad) they will not serve to strengthen the structure of friendship and sincerity. How could Your Majesty, after hearing of the agreement I have made [with Shujā'] (marātibī ki ba miyān āmad) command some other connection for my eldest son? If it be the pleasure of the most sacred heart, that such arrangements be made for my other sons, I shall not shrink from obedience to whatever decision may be reached.

[The letter lacks a formal ending]



LETTER 86

The Emperor has at last resolved to take Mīr Jumla openly under his protection. He is to come to Court, there formally to be enrolled as a manṣabdār, and enter "the circle of Imperial servants."

But the Mīr, whom Aurangzīb's earlier letters had represented as aching for the honour of an Imperial audience, holds back. His excuse, that he must gather in the vast stores of jewels, bullion, and goods accumulated through commercial transactions and conquest, was reasonable enough; his desire, that all be done in profound secrecy, not only would protect him from an assault by his discarded master and the Sultān of Bījāpūr, but would allow him the greatest possible freedom for politic manoeuvres against them and perhaps even to bid for independence. In the next letter, the doubt crosses Aurangzīb's mind.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a letter written entirely by the Emperor, sent upon reading letters from Aurangzīb and Mīr Jumla (no dates given).

Further acknowledgement and formal thanks.

Your Majesty has decided to appoint a reliable man to deliver a gracious farmān to Mīr Jumla, and to bring him (to the Presence); and has ordered him to carry a peremptory mandate to Qutbu'l Mulk, warning him to do nothing to hinder (mushtamil<sup>1</sup> bar 'adam-i-mani') Mīr Jumla and his son from entering the service of the Court, the refuge of the world.

Any decision that Your Majesty might make herein will be the essence of propriety; (but I have to state that) Muḥammad Mūmin,<sup>2</sup> that servant of the heaven-centred government, has recently reached Golconda on his way back from an interview with

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1. Chaudhuri has a misprint: mushtambalar.

2. Nadwī writes Mīr Mūmin, by mistake.

Mīr Jumla (az pesh-i-Mīr Jumla). From his letter it appears, that Mīr Jumla, despite his true loyalty to the Court (where rulers stand as sentinels) (astān-i-salāṭīn pāsban) intends to remain in the Carnatic for another year. He wants to wind up (inṣirām) his multitudinous affairs, and (dispose of) his goods gathered in various ports, and other places; he wants also to fulfil his promise to his former ruler. If his secret intentions have not become public (bar mala' niyuftād) in the meanwhile, and if he is preserved from all danger (maṣūn gardad) at the hands of the rulers of Bījāpūr and Golconda, he will set off, after the year has passed (ba'd az ān) to prostrate himself at the threshold of Caliphate.

For these reasons I cannot ask that those royal letters be sent, or that an officer of the Court be deputed (to escort Mīr Jumla to the Presence). After Muḥammad<sup>1</sup> Mūmin has returned and told me his observations of what he has seen in the Carnatic; and if I am quite certain that Mīr Jumla is firm in his intention; I shall submit to Your Majesty a report upon the situation.

Mīr Jumla has taken the most extraordinary measures to ensure that his secret is kept (mubāligh wa ilhāh dar khwāst-i-ikhfā'i-īn sirr kardā). It is beyond doubt that the rulers of those parts would stick at no stratagem or trickery (ba ḥaila wa fareb nakhwāhand guzasht) to prevent him from acquiring that great good fortune (of serving us), and once they have resolved upon united action against him the matter would be beyond remedy. Any decision, therefore, which Your Majesty might be pleased to make upon keeping Mīr Jumla's intentions secret will be in the interests of the state; but of course anything (else) resolved upon by the mind, brilliant as the sun, will be the essence of propriety.

(This letter lacks a formal ending).

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1. I.O. omits Muḥammad.

LETTER 87

The apparently unsuccessful recommendation, made by Aurangzīb in this letter for a title and a banner for the Naqshbandī Khwāja Barkhwurdār, is his last contact in this correspondence with any connection of Shīkh Aḥmad Sirhindī.

The partial commutation of Quṭbu'l Mulk's tribute into elephants has caused trouble, as Aurangzīb warned it would (Letter 81, supra; cf Letter 90, infra).

Aurangzīb's doubts upon Mīr Jumla's loyal submission have hardened into certainty; but he is cool enough to recognise that the Mughuls have nothing to gain from hasty action. So he concludes the letter with a short conspectus of the Mīr's strength, and a masterly summary of the qualities which sustained his greatness.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a letter of greeting from the Emperor and a gift of one hundred lengths of dū dāmī<sup>1</sup> cloth, delivered by the son of 'Arab Khān.<sup>2</sup>

Thanks, and wishes of long life to His Majesty.

Hail to the qiblah of the hopes and safety of all who live on earth! Khwāja Barkhwurdār is serving as qil'adār of the frontier fort of Ausā, with a rank of 2000 zāt and 2000 sawār. He is an experienced officer, and he hopes that through Your Majesty's attentive care for even the unimportant he might be

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1. Compare note to Letter 48; this is a Hindī term for a type of flowered muslin.

2. Perhaps this was Mīrzā 'Alī 'Arab, who went to Court before his father died (see Letter 53, supra) but upon his death retired (manzawī) from his small manṣab of 500/200. At the request of Aurangzīb he was appointed, in Shāh Jahān's 29th year (1655-56) thānadār of Trimbak and "Hāris", which is clearly the rock fort of Hārischandragarh on the scarp of the Western Ghāṭs, about 40 miles south of Trimbak (M.U. III, 115, (text)). He must have taken over some of the duties of Shafqatu'llāh: compare Letter 67, supra. He fought with Aurangzīb against Shujā'at Khajwa and Dārā at Deorā'i, and died as Qila'dār Khān late in 1093 (late in 1682); Ibid, 116.

distinguished by the grant of a title, and a banner.<sup>1</sup>

Hail to the saintly preceptor! I had sent Muḥammad Mūmin [Ṣafḍārkhānī] to Mīr Jumla, and when the time had come for his return I wrote that he should take delivery from Qutbu'l Mulk of the elephants due in commutation of half his cash tribute, and bring them with him. He has now arrived, bringing 30 elephants from Qutbu'l Mulk. 29 are male, and one female; but seven have certain defects, (ma'iyūb) and are unworthy the acceptance of the government founded in the firmament. (For the present), I shall retain all the elephants here, and ask Qutbu'l Mulk for a detailed account of the value he has put upon them. Should no difference appear between their current value at Golconda and the price agreed upon in my presence, I shall send the elephants to the Court, exalted as the sky, with an Imperial officer and one of Qutbu'l Mulk's men in charge. Otherwise, I shall report the extend of the discrepancy (to Your Majesty), and act in accordance with (any) exalted command (I may receive).

The true position of Mīr Jumla, according to Muḥammad Mūmin's report, is this: For the purposes of outward show he is asserting that he has neither support nor shelter but the Court, where Emperors stand in attendance (āstān-i-khawāqīn pāsbān). He claims, that he will set off to kiss the threshold of the Caliphate after he has collected his goods, (now) scattered about in ports and various other places; but from his acts and his demeanour (auṣā' wa atwārash) it is clear, that such is not the true desire of his heart (īn irāda az ṣamīm-i-qalb nīst). He has gained possession of a well-populated country, furnished with forts, ports, and (profitable) mines; he has fallen out (bar ham zada) with his former master; he has offended (az khwud āzurda) 'Ādil Khān by rejecting his service.

It is for policy's sake that he makes a shew of submission and loyalty to Your Majesty. So long as all the diplomatic arts in his power suffice to protect him from the enmity of the two<sup>2</sup> Deccan rulers, he would never leave the Carnatic, nor would

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1. Apparently he now got neither: "At the beginning of Aurangzīb's reign he was entitled Ashraf Khān". M.U. II, 206-7 (text); compare Letter 66, *supra*, and note, for his appointment to Ausā.

2. Nadwī omits dū, on no good manuscript authority.



he offer his services in any other place.<sup>1</sup>

He has a force of 9000 cavalry, and 5000 (other) dependants; 4000 of Qutbu'l Mulk's men have come over to him. His infantry might amount to 20,000. In bullion (zar) in cash (naqd) in precious stones, in artillery, fine elephants, horses both 'Irāqī and 'Arab, and other marks of pomp and splendour (sa'ir asbāb-i-taḥammul wa ihtishām) he possesses the greatest store. Low and high he treats alike with kindness, and much courtesy; (khwush zāhir miyāna bālā khailī bā sulūk) through his intelligence and resource, befitting a great servant of any king (ānche naukarān-i-'umda-i-mulūk-rā bāyad) he has acquired influence in many quarters; (bahra-i-wāfī ikhtisās yāfta) by his obliging and agreeable manner, he has made all the chieftains of the Carnatic his partisans. With Ikhlas Ḥabshī, commander-in-chief of 'Ādil Khān's army and his governor in the Carnatic, a man of much influence, (ṣāhib-i-ikhtiyār) he has laid the foundations of friendship. In all his affairs he is acting with prudence and circumspection.<sup>2</sup>

May the world-warming sun of the Caliphate remain brilliant until the end of time!

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1. This paragraph is translated, with immaterial omissions, by Jagadīsh Narāyan Sarkār in his "Life of Mir Jumla", p. 71. Sir Jādunāth had paraphrased it in brief but strong language: Aurangzīb I, pp 200-201.

2. Hoshdār wa khabardār ba sar mīburd. I.O. has hoshyār.

LETTER 88

This short letter begins with a report that twenty-two of the thirty elephants sent by Qutbu'l Mulk on account of his tribute have been found fit for acceptance. They appear to have been wild elephants newly taken from the jungle; not only did they need fattening (which might have been natural, after their journey to Daulatabad) but also they required <sup>more</sup> breaking-in, than that journey required.

Aurangzīb's hopes of bringing Mīr Jumla over to the Mughul side are rising again. It is more than probable, that he had agents in various guises visiting the Mīr's camp, as well as the Golconda noble 'Abdu'l Latīf.

This letter can be dated 29 Ramazān 1065/2 August 1655 by reference to a short one written about the weather to Jahanara on 11 Shawwāl [1065]/15 August 1655. "Rain began to fall on 27 Ramazān the Blessed, and has been falling constantly, sometimes heavy and sometimes light, until to-day, which is 11 Shawwāl." He adds a domestic touch: "The air is very fresh; one can't be without a light tunic (qabā) and a nīm-astīn" (I.O. 248 B).

As always, the day of the week is one day off the date given in the tables, according to which 27 Ramazān 1065 was a Saturday, and 29 a Monday.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Lengthy conventional salutations, and effusive acknowledgements of a letter written entirely in the Emperor's hand (no date given).

Further acknowledgement, and fulsome thanks.

As commanded, I returned to his agent the seven defective elephants which Qutbu'l Mulk sent. The other twenty-two (males)<sup>1</sup> I have retained, putting a manṣabdār in charge of them (ba daroghagī-i-fīlān), and instructing Murshid Qulī Khān to watch over them with care, and see that they are soon made tractable, and well fattened (ba rūzī āsūda wa farbih sāzad). When the rainy season is over, I shall, God willing, despatch them to the Court, the asylum of the world.

Conformably to the world-obeyed command, I have written to Khwāja Barkhwurdār to send his son to Court, where he will forthwith attain the honour of kissing the sublime threshold.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Yak mada, the one female of Letter 87, was not accounted for.

2. There is no notice of any son of Khwāja Barkhwurdār in the short life in Ma'āşiru'l Umarā, I, 206-7, (text).

'Abdu'l Latīf the brother of Mu'izzu'l Mulk has (recently) returned from a visit to Mīr Jumla. He has seen the Mīr's property and equipment with his own eyes, and his report upon the Mīr's establishment, and upon his abundant army, will be sent to Your Majesty. No occasion has been lost of flattering Mīr Jumla and coaxing him to join us, and those efforts are continuing. It is my hope, that he will receive the grace of service to the Court, the refuge of rulers, and feel himself fortunate in acquiring that great boon.

From the news-writer's diary, Your Majesty will have learned of the shortage of rain on the Bālā Ghāt. Through the bounty of God, and the good fortune of Your Majesty's truth-encompassing nature, rain began to fall on Sunday (27th). It is still falling as I write, at midday (niṣf-i-rūz) on Tuesday (29th).

May the world-illumin<sup>in</sup>g sun of the Caliphate remain  
ever bright!

LETTER 89

Mīr Jumla's secret is out; he fears joint action against him by the two Deccan kings, and flies to Aurangzīb for protection. Aurangzīb's spirits are correspondingly elated, and he clearly hopes for a rapid and favourable conclusion.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, quite brief.

Mīr Muhammad Sa'īd has just written (me) a letter in the cipher agreed upon between us (ba khat-i-ma'hūd). From it it appears, that the Deccan rulers have learned of his intentions, and have resolved to send<sup>1</sup> a combined force against him. Mīr Jumla, hearing of this, has been smitten with fear. As he (now) includes himself among the circle of those loyal to the Court, the refuge of the world, and as he has sought (Your Majesty's) favour (by grasping) the strong rope (ḥabl-i-matīn) of the protection and aid of the leading nobles of Your Majesty's victorious state, he is powerless to devote himself to his own affairs without orders from Your Majesty. He hopes, that he may be relieved of his fear (asīb) of the Deccan<sup>2</sup> rulers through the condescending care and grace of his true preceptor and guide.

I have accordingly sent the deciphered version of his letter to the luminous Presence, so that from it Your Majesty may ascertain the actual situation. Let any commands be given that the kingdom-adorning mind, brilliant as the sun, may decree; they shall be obeyed.

May the world-inflaming sun of the clime-subduing Sultanate remain brilliant for the balance of the duration of time!

1. Reading bafirīsand, rather than bafiristand with I.O.

2. Nadwī omits Dakan, without good manuscript authority.



LETTER 90

Once again, the Emperor's concern for his morning mango occupies (however briefly) Aurangzīb's attention.

The elephants are still the subject of correspondence; it does not appear at whose persuasion the Emperor ordered that Qutbu'l Mulk need not be paid at present.

Sultānpūr, granted to Muḥammad Sultān, was wild and unproductive, and one is tempted to see irony in Aurangzīb's well-turned thanks for the grant of that pargana to his son. Perhaps the Emperor intended to interest him in the rounding-up of wild elephants, since Aurangzīb had apparently failed to satisfy the Imperial needs.

Aurangzīb side-steps the Emperor's request that old Sazāwār Khān be sent to Court; the Emperor no doubt had come to know of a news-report suggesting all was not well with him. Aurangzīb's alternative proposal certainly offers the old Khān a challenge to prove, through continued administrative ability, the truth of the prince's complimentary remarks.

In fact, Aurangzīb discovers quite a talent for shrugging off unwanted responsibility. It is interesting to note, that the usual practice of resuming run-down jāgīrs into the khālīṣa, and administering them directly for some time before releasing them as jāgīrs again, has not produced very much improvement in Nadrbār or Sultānpūr.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a farmān signed by the Emperor in response to Aurangzīb's letter  
(no date given).

Further acknowledgements and thanks.

Everything possible has been done to safeguard the mangoes fit for despatch to the luminous Presence. Muḥammad Tāhir has been strictly enjoined to take the most exquisite care in despatching the mangoes to the Court, the refuge of creation, and in ensuring that they arrive in good order.

The value of the elephants which Qutbu'l Mulk will be sending in commutation of half his annual tribute will most certainly be credited to his account (mujrī wa maḥsūb khwāhad būd) at whatever amount that Your Majesty may please to determine. The withdrawal of one lakh of rupees from the public treasury to pay for the elephants has been postponed for the present, as ordered.

The gracious grant of the pargana of Sultānpūr has raised

alike the dignity, and the hopes, of Muḥammad Sultān, and has been a source of distinction to me. The incalculable generosity and magnanimity of the murīd-cherishing spiritual guide, the nourisher of hereditary servants, is too much for even a thousand tongues to discharge the obligations of thanks. May almighty God keep the shadow of Your Majesty's favour spread over the heads of murīds and khānazāds!

A world-obeyed command, compelling obedience throughout the universe, acquired the honour of issue: "With effect from the middle of the spring harvest of the ninth cyclic year, the pargana of Nadrbār is conferred upon you, as a substitute for cash. Send one of your trusted servants there. If Sazāwār Khān is still alive, (agar paimāna-i-ḥayātash pūr nagashta bāshad) send him to Court."

Hail to the saintly preceptor! When I was being sent to the Deccan in the all-fortunate service of the true qiblah and ka'bah, the parganas of Nadrbār and Sultānpūr had been included in the roll of the jāgīrs from which my salary would be drawn. However, Your Majesty had been informed of the fact that these parganas were desolate and uncultivated, and so they were taken out of the list of my jāgīrs. Your Majesty then directed this mandate to Multafit Khān: "It is through the neglect of the jāgīrdārs, that these parganas have come to such a pass. Submit a detailed report upon the reasons for their decay, and resume them into the khāliṣa. Do your best to implement every practicable method you know<sup>1</sup> of extending cultivation and increasing population." Multafit Khān sent in a report, covering the management of those two maḥāls over the last ten year, both khāliṣa and jāgīr lands, to the foot of the throne, the residence of the Caliphate; but the dīwāns have most probably not applied themselves to that document, and Your Majesty has not been told the facts of the case.

Had it been otherwise the dīwāns would not have represented, in the text of the royal letter, that Nadrbār was fertile and well-populated; for, as the separate sheet (attached to this letter) shows, its receipts amount to no more than Rs. 92,000.

Meeting the pleasure of the angelic heart of my true preceptor and guide is, I know, bound up with my happiness in this world and the next. I consider the grace I gain therefrom among the Almighty's greatest gifts, and more important than any (earthly) affair.

1. ba naḥwī ki dānad wa tawānad. I.O. omits wa; N.omits ba.

If it be the wish of the happy nature that I should be content to exchange a cash salary on the ten-monthly scale for a jāgīr on the five-monthly scale, I would have no recourse but to obey the noble command. But the old hereditary servant Sazāwār Khān is not yet past work; (az kār narafta) all his faculties remain unimpaired (hosh wa shu'ūr-i-ū bāqī ast). I should like to be commanded to confirm Nadrbār upon him, and to exchange Sultānpūr, which has been conferred in in'ām upon Muḥammad Sultān, for some other place yielding the same revenue, which may be allowed him as his salary.

Should I be ordered, however, to dismiss Sazāwār Khān to the threshold where Emperors stand in waiting, Nadrbār might be entrusted to Multafit Khān on the same conditions as (Your Majesty has ordered) before this (recent) command was issued, so that he may attend to all its needs. However, anything which the kingdom-adorning mind, brilliant as the sun, may determine herein, shall be faithfully observed.

The gracious increase of 500 sawār (du aspa sih aspa) in the rank of Ilhāmu'llāh son of Rashīd Khān is a source of pride to him.

May the tent of the sky of the Caliphate's splendour remain firmly fixed upon the poles of perpetuity and eternity!

LETTER 91

The "tablet of gold" (lawh-i-tilā) inscribed to the Sultān of Bījāpūr recalls the treaty of 1636, which was likewise inscribed upon a plate of gold. Its contents do not appear to have had any political bearing, and presumably incorporated conventionalised acknowledgements of gifts, sent to Delhi with Saiyid Walī. Generally, Muhammad 'Adil Shāh of Bījāpūr enjoyed better relations with Shah Jahan than his colleague 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shah of Golconda; and his was the higher status in Mughul eyes.

Mīr Jumla is now in the Mughul net again; though Aurangzīb does not say so, the Mīr's "apprehension and distress" have been caused by his negotiations with the Mughuls becoming known at Golconda, and the likelihood of joint action against him by both Sultāns. So he has turned again to Aurangzīb; and Aurangzīb turns to the Emperor. The farmāns which he solicits will, he hopes, contain specific and exact promises.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a letter written in the Emperor's hand  
(no date given.)

Formal thanks.

I have perused Your Majesty's letter to me, and also the gracious farmān, which Your Majesty was pleased to have inscribed upon a tablet of gold at the request of 'Adil Khān, and which Nūru'd dīn Qulī son of Musawī Khān is delivering to him; which a copy has been sent to me, through superabundant tenderness toward murīds. With it is a copy of the letter written to 'Adil Khān at Your Majesty's command by 'Umdatul Mulk [Shāyista Khān].

Hail to the true preceptor and guide! The very day Nūru'd din Qulī and 'Adil Khān's agent Saiyid Walī arrived [here], I dismissed them, [saying that] they should hasten on to Bījāpūr without delay.

Upon the affair of Mīr Jumla, anything which may be determined by Your Majesty's sun-like mind, the adornment of the universe, the receptacle of remarkable communications from the invisible world, will be the essence of propriety. Mīr Jumla has lately heard certain reports, which have caused him apprehension and distress. This is apparent from the deciphered version of his [recent] letter, which Your Majesty will have



read. It would be proper if obedience-compelling farmans were issued [to him] without delay, couched in such terms as the divinely inspired angelic heart of the saintly and pure-souled preceptor may light upon, and if they were entrusted for delivery to a confidential courtier. I have once again (mujaddidan) given him the good news of Your Majesty's kindly intentions towards him, in a letter embodying (mushtamil bar) those tidings of prosperity and good fortune, so that he may prepare himself (musta'idd....gardad) to acquire the honour of an all-happy audience of Your Majesty.

May the sun (āftāb) of the Caliphate's authority, and the universe-enkindling luminary (naiyir) of the clime-conquering Sultanate, continue to shine brilliantly for the remainder of time!

LETTER 92

This letter was written during the monsoon of 1655; this is the only conclusion that can be drawn by comparing the talk about want of rain in Letter 88 with the promise to send Qutbu'l Mulk's elephants to Court "at the beginning of Mihr": which must mean late in September, 1655.

As Diānat Khān was called to Court, despite Aurangzīb's remonstrances, before he took up his post as Governor (Letter 48 and introductory note) and as he does not appear again in these letters, the subject of the investigation may have been something to do with Murād Bakhsh's jagirs in the Deccan; for Diānat Khān was probably still serving as that prince's Dīwān-i-Sarkār in 1655. It is worth observing, that we have here an instance of the employment of Brahmins in clerical duties, often imagined to have been a Kayastha preserve.

Aurangzīb's solicitations on Murshid Qulī Khān's behalf befit so strong a supporter of loyal subordinates.

The affair of Sabal Singh and Rao Karan is mentioned by Tod (Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, II, 223) but without dates. The anxious hope of "Subbul Sing" to profit from his neighbour and relative's protracted absence on active service may be explained by the long-standing rivalry of the two houses.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a farman concerning the despatch of Qutbu'l Mulk's elephants, and an investigation into Diānat Khān's official report (taqrīr) and that of his assistant. (pesh dast)  
[No date given]

Formal thanks.

Almighty God willing, I shall send<sup>1</sup> the elephants to the luminous and most sacred Presence at the beginning of Mihr, as ordered. When Diānat Khān's assistant and the Brahmins appointed [to deal with the business] have reached me, I shall make every effort to examine and investigate (taftīsh wa taftīh) the various affairs which have been brought to Your Majesty's notice<sup>2</sup>. I shall [then] send to Court a report upon what has emerged in each matter. (ḥaqīqat-i-jam' abwāb rā, nau'ī ki zāhir shawad).

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1. rawāna sākhta. I.O. however reads rawān, and so apparently does Chaudhurī's ms.

2. ba musāmi'-i-jalāl, an unusual variant in these letters.

There has been heavy and continuous rain<sup>1</sup> in the Bālā Ghāt for the last fortnight or so, in almost all maḥāls. I hope, that through Your Majesty's truthful nature, there will be two or three more good falls of rain so that after a good kharīf crop the rabī'harvest will be satisfactory.

Hail to my true preceptor and guide! Murshid Qulī Khān is an experienced servant of the sublime Court, and performs the duties of his office with honesty and integrity. He has spared no labour in his devotion to the administration of the Bālā Ghāt; had earlier dīwāns been inspired to work hard as he has done, the Bālā Ghāt would never have degenerated to the depth it has (kār-i-īn wilāyat badīn jā namīrasīd).

His income does not meet his [necessary] expenses. Through Your Majesty's generosity, he used to have a jāgīr in fertile Hindustān on the twelve-monthly scale, and his Deccanī jāgīr gives a six-month yield. This has brought his private affairs into disorder (az rahguzar-i-pareshānī ba ḥal-i-ū rāh yāfta). Without an order from Your Majesty I can neither give him another jāgīr, nor propose an increase in his maṇṣab; so it would not be incongruous with Your Majesty's solicitude for the least of beings, and tenderness towards servants, if he were dignified by an increase [in rank], or if I were commanded<sup>2</sup> to grant (tan kunad) him a jāgīr on the eight months' scale to replace his old [Hindustānī] jāgīr. Such a gracious act would set his affairs in order and augment his zeal for his work. So capable is he (isti'dād-i-ān dārad) that he can undertake several other duties, such as the faujdārī of the sarkār of Māhūr and other tasks, in addition to his work as dīwān<sup>3</sup>, and yet discharge the responsibilities of them all. Were he given some encouragement the jewel of his services would shine more brilliantly than ever before<sup>4</sup>.

1. muttasil ba qadar-i-bārish shuda. I.O. omits muttasil.

2. I.O. appears to alter to bayād the verb in the common phrase, ḥukm-i-ashraf zīnat-i nifaz yābad.

3. khidmat-i-dīwānī, which Nadwī renders as khidmat-i-dīwān.

4. In the phrase besh az īn āshkār khwāhad gasht, Nadwī as usual, prefers pesh to besh.

Hail to the saintly preceptor! Rāo Karan [of Bikanīr] is an hereditary servant of the Court, the refuge of rulers. His principal support [madār-i-ū-i-peshtar] is the income of his ancestral jāgīr. Recently, Sabal Singh Bhāṭṭi<sup>1</sup>, whom the Court has honoured by making him zamīndār [of his paternal territory] of Jaisalmīr, has opened hostilities against Rao Karan on the ground of the boundary dispute (munāqasha-i-hadd wa sīm)<sup>2</sup> which, because Bikanīr's boundaries are contiguous with Jaisalmīr's, has long smouldered between them. Because of this, Rao Karan's ancestral lands have been thrown into confusion.

Were a command, refulgent as the sun issued to Sabal Singh, that he should not overstep his proper limits<sup>3</sup>, and should never again make bold to indulge his grudge against Rāo Karan. Rāo Karan will be exalted, and an end will be put to the [present] dispute.

May the world-warming sun of the clime-conquering Caliphate ever shine from the horizon of grandeur and authority!

1. B.M. (fo. 54A), third line, has the name clear, with points. I.O. has Sabal Singh Bhāṭī. So has N, noting Bhatti in S. Chaudhuri's ms reads Sīl Singh Bhā'ī, and in his note 2, p. 218, he effects a partial correction to Sabal Singh Bhānī.

2. B.M. clearly reads hadd wa sīm. Sīm is the Sanskrit sīman, hair-parting; suture of the skull; boundary, border, limit, margin, etc.: Monier-Williams, 1218 col.3, q.v.s.v. sīmā, ibid, 1219 col. 1, and Platts 712. Steingass does not have the word. Chaudhuri's ms reads hadd-i-sīm; making nothing of this, he emends to jidd wa sewan, "effort and service"; a similar combination of Persian and Sanskrit words, making much less sense, which he has from Nadwī, who notes the correct reading in his ms M.

3. qadam az hadd-i-khwesh farātar nagashta; an elegant-seeming phrase, fit for the contest at first sight because of its double meaning, literal and figurative; but open perhaps to misinterpretation if used in a farmān without further qualification.



LETTER 93

The whole purpose of this letter is to report the departure of Sazāwār Khān, and to solicit promotion for his son Shafqatu'llāh. Alās for old Sazāwār Khān; before the end of 1065 (30 October 1655) he died, after marching from Delhi to his new appointment in Tirhūt.

There appears no record of immediate promotion for Shafqatu'llāh.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Briefest conventional salutations.

In conformity with the world-obeyed command, to which the entire universe submits, I have given Sazāwār Khān leave to depart for the Court, the refuge of rulers; where, by kissing the threshold of the Caliphate, he will acquire perpetual felicity. As his son Shafqatu'llāh<sup>1</sup> is unable to bear separation from his father, I have permitted him to travel with him.

Should Shafqatu'llāh possess those qualities which fit him for [Your Majesty's] service, how fortunate for him; if not, he will, as he desires, hasten back to the Deccan.

Hail to the saintly preceptor! Sazāwār Khān is an old officer and a faithful hereditary servant of Your Majesty. His youthful fortune has been spent in the service of Your Majesty's court, where Emperors stand in waiting. He has always kept up the contingent required by the regulations, ready for service. I therefore hope, that he will be taken into the measureless favour of the qibla of all men to the extent that is justified by the obligations of care towards even the least of subjects, the true temper of his loyalty (ḥusn-i-'aqīdat) and his previous services; and that when the gracious acts of his true preceptor and guide are disclosed to him - acts which are the spring blossoms of the hopes and safety of both the highest and the lowest - (bahār-i-āmāl wa amānī-i-aqās wa adānī ast). Sazāwār Khān's youth will begin again (jawānī az sar gīrad).

May the world-warming sun of the Caliphate remain ever brilliant upon the horizon of grandeur!

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1. Then serving as faujdār of Trimbak, to which he had been appointed quite recently: M.U. II 440 (text). He did not return to the Deccan; in the 31st year (1657-58) he was appointed "dārogha" of the Bangash district. He had probably accompanied his father to Tirhūt. See note to Letter 52 (supra).

## LETTER 94

Aurangzib begins by thanking the Emperor for a gift of 100,000 rupees to the "khanazads". Chaudhuri is undoubtedly right in identifying them as Aurangzib's children - or rather the two younger sons and four daughters so far born, for Muhammad Sultan already had his separate establishment.

The demand the Emperor suddenly makes on Qutbu'l Mulk, that he at once make up to the Mughuls the losses they had been suffering from the slow rise in the value of the Golconda hun from about four rupees to nearly five, is typical of the Imperial policy; by regularly advancing a grievance allayable with money, the resources of Golconda would be depleted, and its will to resist weakened. The treaty of 1636 had set the annual tribute at eight lakhs of rupees, then equivalent to two lakhs of hun; cf the budget in Letter 68, supra. Originally it would have made little difference, except in the cost of carriage, whether payment were made in silver or gold; but between 1636 and 1655, the ratio between gold and silver had risen from about 1:13.5 to 1:16, or even more, (cf 'Irfān Ḥabīb, *Agrarian System*, 385-386) not uninfluenced by contemporary movements in Europe and the Levant. The Emperor sought now to compel payment in gold for what he had been ready to accept in silver.

The treaty of 1636, and subsequent letters from Shāh Jahān, were equivocal on the question of how "two lakhs of hun, equivalent to two lakhs of rupees" were to be paid: cf the abstracts in B.P. Saksena's *History of Shahjahan* . . . of Dihli, 176-178.

But the arrest of Muhammad Amīn, prompted by an outburst of crapulous self-indulgence in Qutbu'l Mulk's very throne-room and effected at once without thought of the consequences (cf Ma'asiru'l Umara, III, 531 (text) was turned by Aurangzib to Golconda's ruin; he was able to convince the Emperor to authorise its invasion.

"May Almighty God keep the [Imperial] shadow spread out for many years over the heads of murids and khanazads". Ironic compliment; for now Aurangzib must have been perceiving the first outlines of a strategy which would lead him to unassailable military predominance, and then to the throne.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a letter written entirely in the Emperor's hand (no date given), announcing "the grant of one lakh of rupees by way of a gift to the hereditary servants, and the acceptance of my request upon the purchase (ibtiyā'<sup>1</sup>) of jewels<sup>2</sup>, which has a source of pride to me.

In rendering thanks (shukr wa sipās) for Your Majesty's incalculable kindness and bounty, I have made my tongue melodious (raṭbu'l-lisān gasht). May Almighty God keep the shadow of [my] preceptor and guide, whose generosity is boundless as the sea (daryā nawāl) spread out for many years over the heads of murīds and khanazāds! I shall disburse the lakh of rupees in the manner I have been commanded.

Hail to the qibla of desires! A mandate obeyed by all the world was issued some time ago to me<sup>3</sup>, that Murshid Qulī Khān should ascertain the deficiency (tafāwut) as against the rupee in the fixed number of hūn (nir<sup>kh</sup>-i-hūn-i-muqarrarī) Qutbu'l Mulk's tribute. As required by that order, I addressed a nishān to Qutbu'l Mulk, and sent it by the hand of one of my servants. I have just now sent to the Presence Qutbu'l Mulk's letter in reply. Whatever may be decreed herein by the mind, brilliant as the sun, shall be obeyed.

Hail to the saintly preceptor! As I was writing this letter (dar ḥālat-i-taḥrīr-i-īn 'arzdāsht) a letter [came] from 'Abdu'l Latīf, our ambassador at Golconda, revealing that on the second of this month Qutbu'l Mulk arrested Mīr Jumla's

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1. Nadwī notes ittīlā' in his S. for ibtiyā', but I.O. has ibtiyā'. So has B.M.

2. Chaudhurī in his note of introduction suggests that the lakh of rupees was ear-marked to buy jewels for Aurangzib's children. The text does not justify so definite a conclusion. It is more likely that Aurangzib refers to a commission from his father to buy jewels locally, perhaps from foreign merchants. Shāh Jahan's passion for precious stones was celebrated.

3. īn murīd, as usual; I.O. has ān murīd, a scribe's slip; this is the Emperor's way of mentioning Aurangzib.

son Muḥammad Amin, who<sup>1</sup> had waited upon him<sup>2</sup> according to his regular routine (ba rasm-i-ma'hūd) and imprisoned him in the fort of Golconda<sup>3</sup>.

This news will greatly upset Mīr Jumla, and it is not untypical of Qutbu'l Mulk's small mind (az kota andeshī-i-Qutbu'l Mulk dūr nīst) to harm Mīr Jumla's son. It would therefore be best, if I were ordered to deal with this matter urgently.

May the world-warming sun of the Caliphate remain brilliant until the end of time!

1. I.O. omits relative pronoun ki.
2. pesh-i-ū rafta. Nadwī has Urdū aur for ū - a slip.
3. B.M. adds a waw to the first syllable: Gūlkunda.



LETTER 95

The separate forces sent against Deogarh under Hādīdād Khān and Mīrzā Khān are victorious, and stand on the north-western and northern confines of Qutbu'l Mulk's domains. The Chātiya or Jātiya of the text must refer to a city or fort in the Deogarh Raja's territories. A ruined fort Chātīa in Jājpur (Imperial Gazetteer, vol. 8, p. 181) cannot be the one. I have located no other.

Muhammad Amīn was arrested on Tuesday 2 Šafar 1066/ 1 December 1655. The news had been forwarded to the Emperor at once by Aurangzīb, who heard it as he was writing Letter 94; and on 29 Šafar/28 December, the Emperor's directions were in his hands. Over three hundred miles from Golconda to Aurangābād, (further via Nānder) and over sixteen hundred thence to Delhi and back: the exchange of news had been effected over nearly two thousand miles in twenty-seven days.

No hesitation marks Shāh Jahān's orders: Mīr Jumla and his son are at once to be proclaimed Imperial servants, and thus Imperial subjects. Questions of rank, title, and interview are swept aside.

The lucky disposition of the forces under his command allows Aurangzīb to mount at once the invading army which must enforce the Emperor's will upon Qutbu'l Mulk.

But all is not happy; the Emperor has obviously complained that the previous letter cannot have been written by Aurangzīb because the hand looks different. An inflamed thumb prevented me writing well, replies the prince; and I did not wish to have another write for me. Such were the trifles upon which the ill-feeling between father and son was fed fat.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of a letter, written entirely in the Emperor's hand, in answer to Aurangzīb's [undated] letter, delivred early on Tuesday morning, 29 Šafar, by the yāsawal Muḥammad Sharīf.

Further acknowledgements, and thanks.

This lofty mandate has been given: "Order the army sent

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1. The mss agree on the date, but not in its rendering. B.M. has bist u nuhum-i-shahr-i Šafar khatm bi'z-zafr. N. follows this, noting in M a reading derived from the tradition of I.O., khatm bi'l-khair wa az-zafr. I.O. itself reads bist u nuh, and has shahr-i ḥāl, with Šafar superscript. Chaudhurī's ms has another variant: khatam u'llah bi'z zafr.

towards Chātia<sup>1</sup> to march to the environs of Qandahār fort, and encamp there. Go yourself, if you think fit; otherwise, send your eldest son. Write a nishān to Qutbu'l Mulk, saying that We have admitted Mīr Muḥammad Sa'īd and his son to the service of Our court, the refuge of the world, and that he must send Muḥammad Amīn to Our Presence; if not, he shall [soon] learn of Our victorious army's arrival at Golconda."

Hail to the saintly preceptor! I had sent forces against Chātia from two directions. Finding himself surrounded on all sides (az jamī'jawānib ba khwud muhīt yāfta) the zamīndār began begging and imploring [forgiveness] (az dar-i-'ijaz wa ilhāh dar āmada) assuring me that he would attend upon me with every elephant he had, and account for (ṣurat dahad) the arrears of his tribute to the heaven-centred government. I expect him before me soon, escorted by (ba ittifaq) Mīrzā Khān.

Because of this [success], and through my good fortune in being a disciple of the perfect guide, I had already written to Hādīdād Khān before I was informed of the world-obeyed command, telling him to march to the border of the realm of Golconda with his own men and those detachments from Mīrzā Khān's force which shall have joined him; so what Your Majesty commanded is [already] done.

Obedient to Your Majesty's order, I shall now send Qutbu'l Mulk a nishān, by the hand of one of my trusted servants, containing promises and threats. (mushtamil bar ummīd wa bīm). I shall tell Hādīdād Khān to break his march ('unān bāz gashta) when he reaches Qandahār. Afterwards, when the Rājah of Deogarh arrives [here], I shall order Your Majesty's servant [Muḥammad Sultān] (khānazād-i-'ala'ḥaẓrat) to hasten to Qandahār with the remainder of the victorious armies. Should Qutbu'l Mulk, not receiving the grace of obedience, by his recalcitrance to the sacred command make it necessary to punish him; or should 'Ādil Khān make moves to help him (dar ṣudūr-i-imdād-i-ū darāyad<sup>2</sup>)

1. Chatia is rendered Jatya by Dr Mu'īnu'l Haq in "Prince Awrangzib, p. 60. He follows the reading of N., who notes Chanda in M. Chaudhuri emends his ms' Hatba (sic!) to Jātiya. B.M. has Jātiya, clearly pointed, while in I.O. the three points under the chīm of Chatiya are clear; though the last syllable is smudged, the word is certainly not Chanda.

2. Nadwī has ṣadr; mss ṣudūr.

I shall set off for the frontier myself. God willing, I shall awaken him from his dreams of self-deceiving folly; (khwāb-i-ghurūr wa pindār) hard will it be for him then to retain possession of his territories (wilāyat-i-mut'alliqa-i-khwēsh) much less prevent Mīr Jumla (chi jā'ī ānki Mīr-i-mūmā ilai-hi .... māni' tawānad āmad?<sup>1</sup>) from attaining the happiness of service [under Your Majesty].

Hail to my temporal and spiritual ka'bah! My last letter, which Your Majesty will have read, was written in my own hand. (khat-i-īn fidwī ast<sup>2</sup>). As I have an inflammation (āzār) in my right thumb, (nar angusht) it was ill written. Although Your Majesty's servant [Muhammad Sultān] does not write badly for his age (ba muqtaẓā'ī sinn wa sāl bad namīnawīsad<sup>3</sup>). I could hardly allow my letter to be written by him, or by anybody else. As far as I could, I have throughout my service (dar īn muddat) excluded the pens of others from the writing of my letter [to Your Majesty].

May the world-warming sun of the clime-conquering Caliphate remain brilliant upon the horizon of divine assistance!

1. It is possible to conjecture that pisar-i has dropped out before Mīr-i-mūma ilai-hi, on the ground that Mīr Jumla was not in Qutbu'l Mulk's power; while his son was. This seems a quibble; Aurangzīb's whole aim was to entice the father into Mughul service. The son was of far less consequence, then and later. In the next letter, Aurangzīb calls Mīr Jumla Mīr-i-mazkūr in a similarly constructed sentence.

2. I.O. has in fidwī-rā; rā has been struck out.

3. Muhammad Sultān had turned sixteen (solar) years a few days before. In Persia now, as in the West, a boy's handwriting would be expected to be fully formed at that age; but Aurangzīb is referring to that careful and controlled calligraphic elegance, to which every man of education aspired, and few attained. His own writing was much admired, especially his naskh.



LETTER 96

This letter was written shortly after 8 Rabi'I 1066/ 5 January 1656. Qutbu'l Mulk's reliance on help from 'Adil Shah must have had Aurangzib rubbing his hands in gleeful anticipation. Bīdar, the great 'Adil Shahī fort that was to fall to Aurangzib in 1657, lay a little over fifty miles south-east of the formerly Nizām Shahī fort of Udgir; in a direct line, indeed, between Udgir and Haidarābād.

The manuscripts' confusion over the place whence Hādīdād Khan and Mirzā Khan are marching continues: but the text of this letter confirms that they cannot have been in the Chānda territories. Mirzā Khan was bringing in the defeated Deogarh rāja.

Multafit Khān's promotion by 500/500 at Aurangzib's request leads the prince to request more jagirs. Probably his jagir in Hindustan was now taken away; were his jagirs in the Deccan, the incidence of the regular deductions made from Deccani officers' pay, as well as the effects of low yields, would pinch him hard. The sudden resumption of Pātudhī before the principal harvest (the ~~harvest~~ <sup>harvest</sup>) had been gathered, would have been another blow to his finances. References to the results of such rapid transfers of jagirs are collected by 'Irfān Ḥabīb, Agrarian System, pp. 320-323.

By recommending that Pātudhī be placed in khālīṣa, Aurangzib seems to admit that it was not settled enough to be a reliable element in any ordinary jagirdar's salary. After being improved under Imperial administration, land so resumed was often returned to paibaqī, and once again granted in jagir.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations.

As I reported earlier, I had written a nishān to our resident ambassador (ḥājib-i-muqīmī<sup>1</sup>) at Golconda before [Your Majesty's] last farman reached me. I told him to acquaint Qutbu'l Mulk with the clear purport of the command already issued, and to say that he must release Mīr Jumla's son from prison with his family, and must not interfere with him (muta'arriḡ nakunād) until an order should arrive from Court. From our ambassador's letters it is now clear, that Qutbu'l Mulk, stubbornly refusing to accept this decision, is unwilling to free Mīr Jumla's son. As the smoke of his delusive dreams conceals from his eye the vision of the proper path, he still intends to do all he can to prevent Mīr Jumla himself (Mīr-i-mazkur) from setting out to kiss the threshold of the Caliphate.

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1. Nadwī has muqīsī (a slip).



To deprive him, therefore, of any further ground for excuse (barāye itmām-i-ḥujjat) I have sent Qutbu'l Mulk a nishān, as Your Majesty has commanded. I have entrusted it to the mushrif of the imperial artillery, Abu'l Qāsim, who is not wanting in intelligence, and to one of my own confidants.

At dusk on Wednesday, the eighth of this month, I gave formal leave to Muhammad Sultān, the hereditary servant of the Court, the refuge of rulers, to march to Nānder and encamp there, with several imperial officers who were here, and some of my own men. I have written to Hādīdād Khān, telling him to join Muhammad Sultān with all the Imperial troops that were sent against Deogarh<sup>1</sup>, and have gathered under his command. I have sent Mīr Fazlu'llāh's son Asadu'llāh<sup>2</sup>, who is an hereditary servant with a good record, (ki khānazād-i-sābiq-i-khwush sulūk ast) to the zamīndār of Chānda<sup>3</sup> with five hundred cavalry, to take him and all his forces under his own command, and march them to the Chānda side of the Golconda territories, (badān sarhadd<sup>4</sup>) to convey Mīr Jumla to the Court, extensive as the sky; should he set out by that route. Mīrzā Khān is now on the march with the zamīndār of Deogarh<sup>5</sup>. When he arrives, (muta'aqib) I shall order him, too, to join Muḥammad Sultān.

Although he knows the contents of the letter which Your Majesty ordered the model of viziers to write to him, 'Ādil Khān has sunk himself in the sleep of forgetfulness, and is even thinking of preparing forces to aid the ruler of Golconda. It may be that Qutbu'l Mulk is so drunk with the wine of heedlessness (ba muqtaẓā'i-i-badmastī-i-bādah-i-ghaflat) that he thinks fit to disregard (tahawun ja'iz darad<sup>6</sup>) with the command, obedience to which is imperative, in confidence of 'Ādil Khān's aid. I therefore intend to proceed quite soon to the vicinity of their joint frontier in accordance with Your Majesty's command, under the pretext of hunting. Should Qutbu'l Mulk

1. B.M. appears to read Jātiya; I.O. has bar Chānda (omitting sar-i). Nadwī has Jāniya (sic) Chaudhuri has bar Jātiya; his ms. apparently has Jāyat or Jā'it.

2. Who was to die accidentally during the siege: see note to Letter 49, *supra*.

3. Chānda is clear in all mss. The ruler of Chānda, whose representations were part cause of the Deogarh campaign, marched with the Mughuls.

4. sc., on the northern bank of the Godavery, some 130 miles N-N-E of Haiderabad.

5. B.M. Jātiya. The scribe of I.O. now omits all points. N. and Ch. have Jātiya; Ch's ms. again has Jāyat or Jā'it.

6. By a slip, I.O. has nadarad.

[further] delay sending Mīr Muhammad Sa'īd's son [to Court] after my nishān reaches him, I shall, God willing, bring home to him the consequences of his insolence of ingratitude.

Hail to the qibla of men's hopes!<sup>1</sup> As ordered, I have granted Multafit Khān 23 lakhs of dām (Rs 57500) on the eight months' scale, being the salary for his increased rank of 500 zat<sup>2</sup>. However, his jāgīr before his promotion was 94 lakhs of dām (Rs 235,000) in this unremunerative province, and he was helped to carry on by the income from a jāgīr in Hindustān. (ba imdād-i-maḥṣūl-i-jāgīr-i-Hindustān ba sar mīburd).

But now, the total receipts from his jāgīrs (hasil-i tamāmī-i-tuyūl-i-ū) do not even reach six months' proportion; yet, despite this, he is obliged by the regulations of the Deccan<sup>3</sup> to bring ninety more horsemen to the branding muster than before. In exchange for their jāgīrs in Hindustān, which pay them well, (sair ḥāṣil) many officers have before now received jāgīrs in the Deccan on the seven months' scale. Multafit Khān is an experienced officer, and it would not stretch Your Majesty's generosity to sanction the grant of his whole salary in this province at the seven months' rate.

The pargana of Pātūdhī<sup>4</sup> was given him as [part of] his salary with effect from the beginning of the [last] autumn harvest. Its yield was [then] very small, compared with the spring harvest; yet at the beginning of spring, Pātūdhī was transferred from him, which will cause him great loss. (nuqsān-i-kullī). I hope that this pargana might be resumed to the khalīsa, with effect from the [last] autumn harvest, and another granted him in the Deccan with effect from that time; but anything that is commanded enhances the reputation of khānazāds.

[no formal ending]

1. mss. qibla-i-āmāl. Nadwī has qibla-i-āmānī.

2. The promotion, and his qila'dārī of Aḥmadnagar vice Shāh Beg Khān, are noted in Ma'aṣīru'l Umarā, I. 502 (text). He was now 2500/1500.

3. ba zaḥt-i-īn ṣūba (mss) bā (Nadwī).

4. This is the modern Pātoda, once a crown tālūq in the Nizām's dominions. It lies near the source of the Manjra river, some twelve miles N.-E. of the former British enclave of Jāmkhed, and separated from that town by an arm of the Bālāghāt Range.

LETTER 97

One letter from the Emperor has taken a fortnight to reach Aurangābād; the other has taken only nine days to cover the eight hundred odd miles, a splendid example of the organisation and efficiency of the Imperial dāk-chaukī.

The submissive ruler of Deogarh's slow march with his Mughul escort and his surrendered elephants, must be received by Aurangzīb in person, in accordance alike with good policy and Mughul practice. Aurangzīb probably still expected that Qutbu'l Mulk would crumple at the approach of Muhammad Sultān's army, and that he himself would not need to stir yet.

But he is determined to make Mughul power supreme in the Deccan; that power, so long as he remained sūbahdār, was his power. He was already sensitive to the possibility that Dārā might undermine his position by impeding his chances of spectacular success. He therefore goes over to the offensive, to hint that he is aware that not all at Court would look kindly on a decisive military solution.

Going further, Aurangzīb urges upon the Emperor the wealth of Qutbu'l Mulk's domains, the richness of its fabulous mines, its treasures, and its trade. Do not let anyone dilute your determination, Aurangzīb seems to be saying; the gain to the Empire and to your pocket will far outweigh any loss that some people might fear to their ambitions.

The coarse language used of 'Adil Shāh reflects Aurangzīb's resentment at that monarch's hitherto successful cultivation of Shāh Jahan's favour.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of two royal letters, entirely written by the Emperor, in answer to Aurangzīb's letter, delivered late in the afternoon of Tuesday, 28 Dī, equivalent to 20 Rabī'I; the first written on 14 Dī, and the second on 19th; together with a copy of a farman directed to Qutbu'l Mulk in the care of two mace-bearers.

Formal thanks.

The world-obeyed command issued [to Qutbu'l Mulk] accords exactly with my hope and desire; I have therefore acquired a second life (ḥayāt-i-dū bārāh yāft). Since,<sup>1</sup> as Your Majesty knows, I have gained some degree of understanding through the

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1. N. prefers chūn; but I.O. has chi, which N. notes in the modern copy S. B.M. however, reads chi, with Chaudhurī's ms.



good fortune of my training by the perfect guide, I had relied upon the sublime command delivered by the yasawal Muḥammad Sharif<sup>1</sup>, and had intended to march quickly off towards Haidarābād, with light kit (bar jināh) on 8 Rabi'I. But the zamīndār of Deogarh<sup>2</sup>, encumbered the elephants he is offering in tribute, has been marching slowly, and had not yet arrived. I accordingly moved the date of my own departure forward from 8 Rabi'I, (ān tārīkh) and directed Your Majesty's servant [Muḥammad Sultān] to march to Haidarābād by the route I had intended to take. If Qutbu'l Mulk has not released Mīr Jumla's son and family by the time he has reached the border, he is to march straight to Haidarābād, and carry out Your Majesty's orders to liberate the prisoners forthwith, whether Qutbu'l Mulk wishes it or not; (kāṁ wa nā kāṁ) and Qutbu'l Mulk will soon afterwards learn, that I have come [to Haidarābād] myself.

The zamīndār of Chānda, accompanied by Mīrza Khān, is now to wait upon me on the 23rd of this month<sup>3</sup>. I have thus been looking forward to receiving this universe-obeyed command, to which the whole world submits; and its issue [at this moment] is nothing short of a miracle. (az rū-i-mahz-i-karamat). I was afraid lest those deceitful Deccani rulers might devise some cunning plan full of deceit and dissimulation, to induce [Your Majesty] to accept a heavy fine, and so ruin our present policy, which a most fortunate chance has made practicable. (ki az ittifaq-i-husna ast) I feared, too, lest I be obliged to retreat from the border, covered in shame<sup>4</sup>; which would have made me contemptible in the eyes of those rulers, and inflated their self-importance and conceit. But [the imperial command] has laid my anxiety to rest.

I shall send my baggage in advance, as ordered, on the 24th of this month<sup>5</sup>. God almighty willing; but for my own departure the astrologers claim that there is no auspicious day

1. sc., the one he had received on 29 Safar/28 December, and answered by Letter 96.

2. B.M. Jātiya. I.O. has only Chā legible. Nadwī has Chātiya, Chaudhuri Jātiya (noting the consistent misreading of his ms).

3. Rabi' I, and not Di - 20 January 1656.

4. Dārā is the object here.

5. 21 January 1656.



sooner (sā'at-i-nazdiklar ... nishān namīdahand) than Tuesday, 3 Rabi'II<sup>1</sup>, so I am compelled to wait until then. (zarūratān, tā ān zamān tawāqquf namūda) On the day they have chosen, I shall set forth without baggage, (jarīda) and march with all speed to Haidarābād, not pausing until I reach it. Through God's grace, and my true preceptor and guide's imperishable good fortune, I shall punish that unmannerly boldness (īn bī-adabī wa jasārat) so typical of Qutbu'l Mulk's ingratitude, and bring it home to him as he deserves.

Muhammad Sultān reached Nānder on Tuesday, [28th Dī]<sup>2</sup>, the same day as the royal letters arrived. He will soon enter the Golconda territories. Muḥammad Tāhir has made satisfactory arrangements for administering Burhānpūr [in his absence], and came to me on 15th [Dī]. On the 17th, I sent him, as a precaution, (barāye ihtiyāt) to march as quickly as he could to join Muḥammad Sultān.

Hail to the saintly preceptor, the pure-hearted guide! Your Majesty knows well the extent of Qutbu'l Mulk's well-populated domains<sup>3</sup>, rich in mines of diamond, crystal (ballūr) and other minerals. Qutbu'l Mulk does not recognise how much of Your Majesty's grace and favour has been lavished upon him, repaying instead kindness with insolence ('uqūq); and he has tried to deviate (inhirāf justa) from the royal road of obedience.

From the other side [of Golconda] Mīr Jumla is marching with a large army, good artillery, and many elephants. After so long (pas az muddatī) this opportunity has emerged (īncunīn qābū ba dast uftāda) it may, perhaps, never occur again, (shāyad dīgar muyassar nashawad) and it would be highly prudent to take it now.

Provided that further petitions and requests from the Deccan rulers to the sublime court [seeking to avert] their punishment are rejected, further promises of tribute ignored, and no interference from any quarter<sup>4</sup> is allowed to affect the

1. sc., 30 January 1656.

2. sc., 17 January, 1656.

3. mamlukat in B.M. followed by N. and Ch. mulk in I.O.

4. az tarāfī dar īn muhimm dakhil nashawad. Thus summarily is Dārā disposed of!

plan, then by God's grace and the favour of the true perceptor and guide, not only Qutbu'l Mulk's dominions, but also Mīr Jumla's conquests in the Carnatic, which are no less than than the Golconda territory in extent, and which abound in curious rarities (infās wa nawādir) jewels, elephants, incalculable quantities of buried treasure, mines and trading posts will easily be occupied by the imperial forces; and a resounding victory (fath-i-numāyānī<sup>1</sup>) replete with benefits both spiritual and temporal will fall to the lot of the well-wishers of the everlasting empire. However, anything decreed by the world-conquering mind, the adornment of the universe, will be the essence of propriety.

Hail to the spiritual guide of the two worlds! A recent letter from our ambassador at Bījāpur discloses, that although 'Ādil Khān knows of [Your Majesty's] peremptory order, he has conceived, out of the baseness of his nature, (khubs-i-tīnat) the notion of aiding Qutbu'l Mulk, and of sending an army to reinforce him. I have therefore sent a nishān to our ambassador, telling him to put 'Ādil Khān in fear of the unhealthy results of a diet of disobedience (az wakhamat-i-'āqibā-i-nāfarmānburdārī takhwīf namūda) and to make him withdraw his decision. Should he fail to extract the cotton-wool of irresponsibility from the ear of circumspection, and continue to adhere to his intention, then by the grace of God; through that fortunate favour of the temporal and spiritual qibla and ka'ba which is ever extended to muriās, and with the co-operation of the vizier, the model of felicity, (Khān-i-sa'adat nishān) I shall make him hear well enough.

May the lofty shadow of the Caliphate remain spread over the heads of slaves until the end of time!

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1. Nadwī prefers numāyān, without sound ms authority.

LETTER 98

Muhammad Mīrak well deserved his rest, after over a week of riding nearly a hundred miles a day.

The appearance of the Deogarh ruler with only twenty elephants amply justifies Aurangzīb's original doubts of the wisdom of the expedition against Deogarh - at least from the point of finance, if not Imperial prestige.

The appointment of a Marātha to administer manāls of Deogarh territory on behalf of the rājah offers a precedent often used by the British government of India in its relations with feudatory rulers, not least the Nizām. It also, unconsciously, foreshadows the final grim destiny of the Gond kingdoms at Maratha hands in the eighteenth century.

The mention of the young Śivājī's raids upon Mughul Juner offers another foretaste of the change that was to come over the Deccan during the next generation.

The Jāwar affair has been satisfactorily concluded; in mentioning it now, Aurangzīb perhaps wishes to anticipate criticism for not at once summoning Rāo Karan to serve in the Golconda campaign, by referring to his administrative settlement of his new conquest.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations.

On the evening of 22 [Rabī' I<sup>1</sup>], I sent my answer to the two royal letters to the sublime Court by the hand of Muḥammad Murād, the yasawal to whom the first letter had been given for delivery. As the mace-bearer Muḥammad Mīrak, who brought the second letter, travelled very quickly, I detained him for two or three days to recuperate his strength, (barāye nafs rāst kardan) and then let him go.

Hail to the saintly preceptor! The zamīndār of Deogarh<sup>2</sup>, escorted by Mīrza Khān, has waited upon me. He brought twenty elephants, male and female, which were in his possession; and he swears that he has none but these. Should [the contrary] appear, or should anyone give [contrary] information, he will deserve punishment [for deceiving Your Majesty] (wa agar zāhir shawad, yā kase nishān dahad, mujrim bāshad).

1. 20 January, 1656.

2. mss have Chatiya clearly; so also N. and Ch. (where the ms. reads Jayat or Jā'it, as usual.)



The zamīndār of Chānda, and his agent Devā Nāyak<sup>1</sup>, who has [already] reached the Court, both say that they have no knowledge of Jaya Sangrām or of any other elephants in Deogarh<sup>2</sup>. Hādīdād Khān concurs with them. He has written me a letter on the matter, and if any contrary report has reached Your Majesty, it is a patent lie. Your Majesty will have read Hādīdād Khān's letter to me.

The position of the tribute, arrears and current, owed by the zamīndār of Deogarh is, that this year he will pay five lakhs of rupees in cash and kind to the public treasury. He has undertaken to pay the whole of the arrears incurred under previous governors next year. Thereafter, he will pay his regular tribute punctually each year, without any delay. [He further undertakes] to detach several mahāls from his territories, and entrust the collection of their revenue to Kār Talab Khān, thanadār of Kherla<sup>3</sup>; he will provide the money for the tribute out of the revenue of those mahāls, and is agreeable to finding the balance himself (mustaqbil ast ki ū az 'uhda-i-janāb ast).

The zamīndār has brought a good body of troops with him; he desires, out of a true sense of loyal devotion to take part in this campaign with the great nobles (auliyā-i-daulat) and especially wishes to march at my side. (az īn murīd judā na-shawad) I have [therefore] retained him by me, with his men. Were it proper to make some concession (ri'āyatī) in the five lakhs of rupees he must pay this year<sup>4</sup>, I would do it.

Hail to my temporal and spiritual qiblah and ka'bah! Rāo Karan, who had marched against Jāwar, invaded the place with true martial ardour [bisyār sipāhāna], and conducted an excellent campaign. Rendered powerless by Your Majesty's im-

1. B.M. and I.O. spell this man's name Dānāyak; Ch. has Wānāyak, a distortion of that reading. N. has Devā (dāl, waw, alif) Nāyak and notes no variants. The confusion appears to originate from an anomalous spelling of Chānda with a final alif, not a he-i-hauwaz. The sentence begins: Wa zamīndār-i-Chānda wa Devā Nāyak wakīl-i-ū....

2. And so the jealous spite of the ruler of Chānda (letters 77 and 78) is proved to have been the source of reports of his Deogarh rival's wealth in elephants, as Aurangzīb had all along suspected. How he expressed his displeasure does not emerge from this correspondence; Aurangzīb had other preoccupations.

3. A Marātha, originally named Baswant Rāo, who had entered Mughul service under Jahangir. He had a mansab of 2000/1000, and on conversion to Islam, he got his title in Shah Jahan's third year and was promoted to 3000/2000. He marched against Shāhji under Khān-i-Zamān in 1636 (Ma'āshiru'l Umarā III, 153-154 (text)). Shāh Nawāz



## Footnotes Continued

Khān's next entry is this very assignment - a gap of twenty years. Aurangzib took him north in 1658; he fought at Dharmat and Samugarh; and died on his way back to the Deccan: *ibid.* 154.

4.I.O. once again makes the error imsāl for imsāl.

5. In 1667, Dilir Khān Dā'ūdza'ī, fresh from a successful expedition to extract arrears of tribute (and a huge fine of one crore) from Mānji Mallār of Chānda, got fifteen lakhs of arrears from the Deogarh rajah's successor, and raised his annual tribute by three lakhs (Ma'āsir-i- 'Ālamgīrī (text) 59-60.

perishable good fortune, the local zamīndār came and interviewed, Rāo Karan wishes to devote a few more days to putting the affairs of Jawār in order, and then to wait upon me.

Late on 24th (Rabī'ī)<sup>1</sup> I sent my tents and baggage (peshkhāna) in advance. God willing, I shall set out myself on the appointed day. With a number of Imperial officers, Your Majesty's servant [Muḥammad Sultān] marched quickly from Nānder for Haidarābād on 23rd (Rabī'ī). By God's grace I shall march with all speed, as Your Majesty has commanded; I shall reach Haidarābād soon after him.

A letter just received from our ambassador at Bījāpūr discloses that 'Ādil Khān is bent upon his own destruction, (pai-juma'-i-asbāb-i-idbār-i-khwesh ast) and has called up his military forces from every side. Urged on by his improvident courtiers, he actually (albatta) intends to send an army to help Qutbu'l Mulk.

Śivā the son of Śāhū Bhonsle is in his own territories, which border the district of Juner, and is making forays (shorish andākhta) against it. (our) adjoining district of Juner

May the lofty shade of the Caliphate be ever spread over the heads of the inhabitants of the known world!

LETTER 99

This letter announces Aurangzib's departure for Golconda on 30 January 1656, and some of the arrangements he has made for his absence.

The failure of Qutbu'l Mulk to propitiate the Mughuls by releasing Muḥammad Amin certainly seems quite as foolish as Aurangzib indignantly calls it. The indiscipline of the great nobles of the Deccan states would have made an 'Adil Shahi demonstration of problematical value in the face of so rapid and determined a Mughul advance.

A condition of the submission of Rānā Rāj Singh of Mewār (1652-1680) to Shāh Jahan in the last months of 1654 was the despatch of a son to the Imperial court; thus did the Rānā preserve his proud record, never broken by any of his dynasty until the end of British rule, of never attending any other king's audience; as chief of the Solar race of Rajputs his, too, was a "Court where rulers stood in waiting". By sending an infant son at the head of five hundred horse, Rāj Singh was fulfilling his recently-renewed obligations to the Mughuls.

The supersession of Multafit Khān from his diwānī of the Payān Ghāt is not a reflection upon his capacity, but rather an endorsement of the unrivalled capacity of Murshid Qulī Khān. Multafit Khān was henceforth employed on military duties, and remained high in Aurangzib's favour.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutation.

As I have already written, I marched out of Daulatābād (relying upon the grace of the Almighty and the imperishable good fortune of my true preceptor and guide) on Monday, 3 Rabi' u's - sānī. On this day, Muḥammad Sultān (khānazād) was to have reached the environs of Golconda; and I set forth in that direction myself. I shall make haste to complete the march, as commanded; and should arrive there within fourteen or fifteen days.

Hail to my spiritual and temporal<sup>1</sup> qibla! Although apprised of the purport of the world-obeyed command. Qutbu'l Mulk is still hoping for help from 'Adil Khān; such is his vain pride and self-delusion (nakhwat wa pindār) even though Muḥammad Sultān had already reached Nānder [at the time of the last report]

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1. dū jahānī is omitted from the text of I.O., and placed in the margin.

Relying on these hopes, Qutbu'l Mulk has not yet released Mīr Jumla's son from prison (bar niyāwurda<sup>1</sup>) and he appears disinclined to let him go (dast az wai bāz nadāshta). So entirely is he overcome with foolish dreams of his own glory (khwāb-i-ghurūr wa ghaflat<sup>2</sup>) that he has no thought for the consequences ('āqibat) of his womanish fantasies (wahāmat) of disobedience and ingratitude.

Meanwhile, the state of affairs in Bījāpūr, and the intentions of its ruler, are plain from the reports of our resident envoy. I have shown all the documents to Ṣafī Khān<sup>3</sup>; if he incorporates them in the news-letter, they will be brought to Your Majesty's notice in the daily diary which he sends.

The son of the Rāna, sent by his father with a contingent to the Deccan, has arrived. He has waited upon me; although a child of only five, he is quite intelligent. He will accompany me on this victorious expedition with his entire contingent<sup>4</sup>, which is said to consist of five hundred horse.

Hail to the ka'ba of mankind's hopes<sup>5</sup>! Shāh Beg Khān, an officer with a high mansab<sup>6</sup> and a large following, was stationed without employment (mu'aṭṭal) in the fort of Aḥmadnagar. His men will be useful at this juncture; so I have summoned him to my presence. He is a trusted officer, schooled at court (az khānazādān-i-mu'atamid) and very fit for services of this kind. In my view (dar ḥuzūr-i-īn fidwī) there is none to equal him but Multafit Khān. Shāh Beg Khān wishes to serve

1. I.O. has niyāwurd.

2. Nadwī reverses the mss reading and has ghaflat wa ghurūr, with no variant reading noted.

3. Chaudhuri's ms apparently reads Ṣaif Khān. He has emended his text.

4. Jamīyat appears in Nadwī by mistake for jam'īyat.

5. Chaudhuri omits āmal.

6. for besh mansab Nadwī, as usual, has pesh mansab.

in this campaign  
with me (mikhwāst...judā nashawad)<sup>1</sup>; so I have willingly  
(although not without difficulty (tau'an wa kārhan) gratified  
him by making over the formal charge of Aḥmadnagar to Multafit  
Khān. I have also approved an increase of his mansab by 500  
sawār, of which 200 are dū aspa sih aspa. His mansab (original  
and increased) now stands at 2500 zāt and 1500<sup>2</sup> sawār (200  
dū aspa sih aspa); and thus honoured he will devote himself to  
performing worthy service<sup>3</sup>.

Murshid Qulī Khān has performed his duties as dīwān of  
the Bālā Ghāt exactly as he ought have. I think he could also  
act as diwan of the Pāyān Ghāt; indeed, there is nobody in view  
who could manage that business. (tamshīyat) I have therefore  
made him Dīwān of the Pāyān Ghāt in place of Multafit Khān,  
and added 500 zāt and 200 sawār to his mansab. Original and  
increased, he is now honoured with a mansab of 2000 zāt and  
1000 sawār, and will be able to render acceptable service.

If my proposal be accepted, it would be a specimen of  
kindness to murīds and consideration for slaves.

May the world-illuminating sun of the Caliphate and its  
dominion over all the climes remain for ever bright!

1. In fact, he was to remain with 3000 horse, guarding  
the Golconda frontier, for six months after Aurangzib withdrew.  
(Ma'aṣīru'l Umara (text) II, 666; cf note to Letter 50, supra).

2. Nadwī here omits panṣad, making the sawār rank 1000.  
He also omits the word zāt after 2500. This promotion, and  
appointment to Aḥmadnagar at Aurangzib's request, are duly  
recorded in Ma'aṣīru'l Umara III, 502 (text) but the 200 2h 3h  
are not mentioned.

3. Not to Aurangzib's complete satisfaction, for in the  
early stages of the Bijapur campaign he left Aḥmadnagar without  
a commandant (khālī guzāshṭa) to join in driving out the raiders  
of the young Śivājī, breaking out from 'Adil Shāhī Konkan (B.M.  
171 B; I.O. 202A) "No commandant has ever done anything like it  
before; a completely improper manoeuvre." Soon, however,  
Aurangzib forgot his anger in his pleasure at Śivājī's defeat,  
and Multafit Khān's protection of Aḥmadnagar from plunder;  
(B.M. 173 B; I.O. 205 B-206 A.)



LETTER 100

Aurangzīb wrote this letter on 4 February 1656, four days' march out of Daulatabād. The continued detention of Muḥammad Amīn appears even more unbelievable, despite the succinct account of Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh's warlike preparations; for his forces are scattered throughout his dominions, while Muḥammad Sultān is at the gates of Quṭbu'l Mulk's capital.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement of two royal letters; the first written in the secretariat, in reply to a letter of Aurangzīb's; the second, written by the emperor, and accompanied by two copies [each] of certain imperial farmans, and a [full] robe of honour, brought by Qāzī 'Arif.

Formal acknowledgements, and thanks.

Trusting in the divine support<sup>1</sup>, and in the countenance of the heart of my spiritual and temporal qibla and ka'ba<sup>2</sup>, which teems with inspiration, (faiz mawāṭin) I marched out of Aurangābād late on Monday, the third of this month. That was the happy day, on which the arrival of Your Majesty's noble letter, and the gift of a full suit of honour raised me to exaltation. I did not halt the next day, and I have marched steadily onwards<sup>3</sup>. God Almighty willing, I shall soon reach the outskirts of Golconda. To-day is Friday, 7th, and [Muḥammad Sultān], Your Majesty's household slave [ought to have] entered Haidarābād [today.]

Hail to my qibla! Quṭbu'l Mulk has still not released Mīr Jumla's son, although he is well aware of the purport of my nishān, which I sent him some time ago, as required by the world-obeyed order.

Mīr Jumla's letter in reply to my [latest] nishān [to him], which contained [further] assurances of Imperial grace and favour, arrived to-day. A decoded transcript will pass before Your Majesty's eye with this letter of mine.

1. mss i'tiqād; but Chaudhurī has the much rarer i'tizād.

2. Nadwī omits wa ka'ba.

3. for the kūch dar kūch of the mss. Chaudhurī has kūch  
ba kūch.

Hail to the saintly protector! A letter has recently come from our resident envoy at Bījāpūr. It would seem (ba wazūh paiwasta) that 'Ādil Khān wishes it to appear that he has no intention (ki ū rā ...kāri nīst) of offering aid or assistance to Qutbu'l Mulk; yet his real intention (pinhānī) is to collect the means of helping him. He has recalled his forces from the [southern] frontiers; men are being summoned from everywhere (jā ba jā); he is hard at work (ba jidd ast) strengthening the bastions and walls (burj wa bāra) of Bījāpūr and other forts in his territories, and gathering a park of artillery. Khān Muḥammad Ghulām, commander of his army, was in the Carnatic; he has returned, has joined 'Ādil Khān, and is busily forming a contingent.

So it is an affair of double-faced hypocrisy (madār-i-kār bar dū rūi wa nafāq guzāshta): on one side is what passes 'Ādil Khān's lips, and on the other the quite different intentions of his heart.

I hope that by the mercy of the Almighty—glorified be his power—! these ungrateful and unthankful men, (īn haqq nā shināsān wa nā sipās) who have turned away their heads from obedience and conformity to exalted orders, will be awakened from the depth of their dreams of delusion. May they receive the just reward (pādāsh) of their deeds, so that not one of them will ever again be capable of even contemplating a career of opposition to commands. (ki min ba'd aḥādī rā majāl-i-andesha-i-irtikāb-i-khilāf-i-farmān namānad).

And may the sheltering shade of the Caliphate's universal rule remain ever expanded!

LETTER 101

This important letter begins by announcing Muḥammad Sultān's arrival at Ḥaidarābād, and the successful repulse of a cavalry and artillery assault mounted against him.

The tardy release of Muḥammad Amīn awakens Aurangzīb to the possibility of successful intrigues at Court in Qutbu'l Mulk's interest: the purpose of the invasion has been fulfilled, so why not call it off? As directly as he dares, Aurangzīb begs the Emperor to ignore such requests, especially if they come from Darā, who is clearly included in the slighting title "ahl-i 'arṣ." To strengthen the Emperor's resolution, Aurangzīb indites the first of his "grotesquely mixed appeals to orthodoxy and cupidity, humanity and compassion," as Sir Jadunāth Sarkār so rightly calls them (Aurangzīb I, 212). Let the Emperor annex Golconda; if he will not go so far, let him at least remember the lands and goods and hoards of Mīr Jumla, and the not inconsiderable property of his son; and let him not forget the "monstrous crimes" of Qutbu'l Mulk - for such his persistence in his Shī'a faith must be reckoned.

To round off his arguments, Aurangzīb composes a more than usually fulsome encomium upon the Emperor's superb spiritual qualities, and his own loyal submission.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations.

As commanded, I have marched by regular stages and have reached Nānder in six marches from Aurangābād;<sup>1</sup> I moved with despatch. [There] I received a letter from the servant of the sublime Court (Muḥammad Sultān) saying that when he had drawn to within two stages from Ḥaidarābād, Qutbu'l Mulk released the son of Mīr Jumla; with his family and all his property, (hamān libāsī<sup>2</sup>) which had been seized. He handed them over to our resident envoy 'Abdu'l Latīf and my deputies Abu'l Qāsim and Saiyid 'Alī.

So I wrote back to Muḥammad Sultān, saying that as Qutbu'l Mulk had released Mīr Jumla's son, he should select a place near Ḥaidarābād fit for an encampment and there await Mīr Jumla's arrival, as Your Majesty has commanded.

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1. Az Aurangābād tā Nānder manzil-i-shashum qrār dāda. B.M. omits tā and puts Nānder into the accusative case. The distance so covered was about 130 miles; quick marching indeed.

2. Chaudhurī omits this phrase.

On the evening of 22 Rabi' u'l-awwal I sent a letter by the yasawal Muḥammad Murād, but Your Majesty's reply has not yet arrived. I had intended to await that obedience-compelling farman for two or three days, as [I presume that] it has already crossed the Ganges<sup>1</sup>.

But I have just now (ḥāl) received news, that before Muḥammad Sultān had reached the confines of Ḥaidarābād, Qutbu'l Mulk, seized with terror and consternation, had fled, shutting himself up (muthasin) in the fort of Golconda. [This happened on] Tuesday evening 5th (Rabi' II)<sup>2</sup>.

Muḥammad Sultān [forthwith] wished to move up to the Ḥusain Sagār<sup>3</sup> tank, which is between a cos and a cos and a half from the city. He is under orders to maintain himself there until Mīr Jumla joins him. About six thousand of Qutbu'l Mulk's cavalry, and ten<sup>4</sup> or twelve thousand infantry -matchlock-men, mortar-men, and so on - about equal in number to the victorious army, [forthwith] appeared; carrying their insolence (bī bakī) beyond all proper limits, they advanced, discharging their weapons. Hearing of this, Muḥammad Sultān had no option but draw up his forces and advance to take post in front of the camp. He sent, to chastise those short-sighted men, the commandant of my artillery, Muhammad Beg, who was in the vanguard went with him. They had not their fill of [slaying] the accursed enemy, even though the fire of their rockets and rifles and the clash of their well-tempered swords quite deprived them of spirit (damār az rozgār-i-ānhā bar miyāwurand<sup>5</sup>) four or five thousand rockets and other explosive devices (bārūt) with firearms too, fell into our hands. Our men finally scattered them (munhadim gardānīda) and drove<sup>6</sup> them to the

1. The mss all read āb-i-Gang guzāshta. This would seem corrupt, since even if the Emperor were at Garh Muktesvar, or his new hunting lodge of Faizabad to the north of it (both lying on the western bank of the Ganges) there would be no need for a letter to cross the Ganges. The Chambal or the Nerbudda, both lying athwart the high road to the Deccan, must be meant.

2. sc., 1 February, 1656.

3. I.O. has a curious misspelling, which Nadwī follows: talāb-i-Husain Saghir.

4. Nadwī omits dah.

5. This somewhat stereotyped phrase seems to be used slightly differently from the boastful sense of (e.g.) the letter to Multafit Khan already cited (B.M. 171B; I.O. 202A).

6. For rānda Chaudhuri has dar āmda, which does nothing for the sense.



rear wall of the city. The din of slaughter and combat lasted some time, but finally the loyal and victorious army returned, and encamped by the Ḥusain Sāgar tank.

I have also heard, that 'Ādil Khān, heedless of his final destiny, has despatched fifteen or twenty thousand men to the aid of Qutbu'l Mulk. In command is one Afzal, an inn-keeper, (bhaṭiyāra) formerly a drummer (sar-i-naubat andoz)<sup>1</sup> and now dignified with the title of Khān. To him he has entrusted his adopted son (pīsar-i-khwāndah)<sup>2</sup> the heir to his kingdom; and he has now reached within twenty cos of Ḥaidarābād. I therefore resolved, that to delay was unwise; I have marched out of Nānder, and, relying upon the grace of the Almighty and the favour of my true preceptor and guide, I am on my way to Golconda. I shall remain there until Mīr Jumla arrives.

If the noble command be issued, I shall (under the Lord's guidance, and through the imperishable good fortune of my spiritual and temporal gibla and ka'ba) with the greatest ease take into our control and possession every part of Qutbu'l Mulk's domains. What sort of a country it is is quite clear to your Majesty's luminous mind. And furthermore, if the men sent by 'Ādil Khān approach with the intention of causing trouble I shall (God willing) apply myself to breaking them and chastising them in an appropriate manner.

Such disregard has the tiny-minded Qutbu'l Mulk shown for [our] rights, and such ingratitude; more, he has ventured upon acts which are [now] clearly seen to be enormous crimes. (taqṣīrī-i-'aẓīm) For these alone (quite apart from his obstinacy and opposition to [our] authority) he deserves to be deprived of all his domains.<sup>3</sup> Your Majesty might see fit to give an appropriate command; and I shall take from him the jewels, elephants (afiāl) cash, and other goods he confiscated upon the confinement of Mīr Jumla's son, which now belong to our celestial government. [I shall also recover] twenty-two

1. I.O. has naubat randaula; Chaudhurī, naubat andaula. Thus scornfully does Aurangzib dismiss the famous general, treacherously murdered by Śivājī in November, 1659.

2. Aurangzib never admitted the legitimacy of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh's chosen heir, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh (1656-1672).

3. Nadwī notes the mangling of this passage in S, but in I.O. it is quite clear.

lakhs of rupees remaining unpaid from the regular tribute he is obliged to pay, and exact as well a large additional contribution.

Neither of the Deccan rulers wishes Mīr Jumla to take with him to Court his vast property and effects of every kind, rich in the rare specialities of those regions. Some time ago, Qutbu'l Mulk despatched Mullā 'Abdu's samad as his envoy to the threshold of the Caliphate. He has submitted many supplicatory petitions; and now that his [master's] position is difficult, and the dissolution of his kingdom is in sight, he has been forced to a position of helpless complaining. To save himself, he will certainly address further petitions to the exalted Court; he will enter into [new] agreements; he will beg that an exalted farman be issued, graciously [protecting] his domains, and will endeavour to secure references in it to certain facts, and accumulations of treasure which Mīr Jumla, with great expenditure of effort and energy, acquired as his own (mutakhallis sākhta) from the zamīndārs of the Carnatic. Mīr Jumla's acceptance [of our wishes] in the management of this important affair, and his coming [to me] are alike opportune<sup>1</sup>.

I hope that until Muḥammad Amīn actually comes [to me] and makes disclosure of various signs of loyalty, the receipt<sup>2</sup> of his petitions may be delayed; but also that the insinuations of artful people (ahl-i-'arṣ) about him may have no bearing. This is a most important matter, and has [so far] fallen out very satisfactorily. Until it is concluded, in a manner conformable to the desires of the heart of angelic penetration, the perfect guide, the wise soul through whose God-given wisdom every affair is brought from beginning to end, our interests may be weakened though the interposition of Qutbu'l Mulk's envoys with Your Majesty. [Thus] the matter will be brought to a conclusion acceptable to Your Majesty, and will be an occasion for this servant to perform worthy service.

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1. preferring majal to the mukhill of the mss, and the maḥāl of Chaudhuri.

2. mss ḥaṣūl; Nadwī waṣūl.

The true preceptor and guide has more profound understanding than murīds and slaves of the way in which the good fortune and felicity of this most lucky conjuncture of events may be put to use.

I have sent Mīr Jumla many letters summoning him, through trusted messengers. Before he comes, how can the envoys of that ungrateful and wicked fellow Qutbu'l Mulk be given countenance at Court? How can their inappropriate importunings (multamisāt-i-dūr az kār), possibly obtain acceptance? I merely wish for fruitful results, and I am bending all to that end. Deceitful and disloyal persons are revolving projects marked with chicanery and fraud (andāza-i-ta'sīr-i-makar wa tazwīr).

May the sun of the Caliphate remain resplendent upon the horizon of felicity!

LETTER 102

This letter stands out of the main stream of the reports on the Golconda campaign. While its true place might be immediately after Letter 96, it occurs here in all mss, and could quite well have been prepared without reference to the campaign.

It seems that the Emperor has rectified the anomalies in Multafit Khān's position after his promotion to 2500/1500, mentioned by Aurangzib in Letter 96.

To save the trouble of sending Jahanāra her cash under escort from Burhānpur to Court, and divert to her Aurangzib's cash salary secured upon the Malwa treasury, would have saved some hundreds of miles of carriage, and appears a reasonable step in the interests of economy. It would also have put a large cash income under Aurangzib's direct control, without depriving his sister of a dām; so it was a prudent suggestion in the interests of his own ambition.

Great nobles usually sought the Emperor's blessing and favour upon the marriages of their sons. Mirzā Khān was closely connected with the Imperial house, though not related by blood; but Najabat Khān (c. 1600-1664) was a collateral relation, the great-grandson of Humāyūn's cousin and feudatory, Mirzā Sulaimān (c. 1511-1585), who intermittently ruled, for nearly sixty years, the ancestral domains of Balkh and Badakhshān.

To His Majesty, the Shadow of God!

Conventional salutations, and acknowledgement  
of a farman written in the secretariat.

No dates given.

Brief thanks.

Your Majesty, actuated by benevolence towards murīds, has graciously accorded Multafit Khān an increase in the income of his jāgīr by substituting Pātūdhi<sup>1</sup>, and has raised his zāt rank by five hundred. It shall be done as Your Majesty has commanded.

It was also ordered that I should every year send to 'Umdatul Mulk Shāyista Khān, in the charge (maṣḥūb) of a company of my own retainers, the revenue from the market (mandvī<sup>2</sup>) of Jahanābād in Burhānpūr, which is an appanage (sarkār) of Bēgam Sāhib Jī..

---

1. 'iwaz-i-pargana-i-Pātūdhi. What he received in exchange to make up his jāgīr does not appear. I.O. here reads Paludhi.

2. note the use of the vernacular word, in its local Marāthī and Gujarātī form. Chaudhuri has mandvī. The regular Hindī form is mandī: Platts, p.1075, col.2, s.v.



Hail to the saintly protector! I most certainly wish to submit to the world-obeyed order<sup>1</sup>. One lakh and ninety thousand rupees are already to hand (ma jūd) from the proceeds of the market-tax, and I am ready to despatch them to Shāyista Khān.

However, I am obliged to pay a sum to convey all this cash (ba wajah-i-kirāya); and my cash salary is secured (muqarrar gashta) upon the public treasury of the province of Mālwa. It occurs to my feeble understanding that 'Umdatul Mulk<sup>2</sup> might take from that source<sup>3</sup> cash in lieu of the market-tax, and remit it to the luminous Presence; this would not be wanting in advantages. However, anything which the mind of Your Majesty, brilliant as the sun, may decree, will be the essence of propriety.

Hail to the gibla of the necessities of mortal men! Mīrzā Khān<sup>4</sup> has a young daughter (ṣabīya) who has now reached the age of discretion (ba sinn-i-tamīz). Should Your Majesty deign to approve it, as a gesture of tenderness towards those brought up in your service, he would like her to be united with Isma'īl, the second son of Najābat Khān<sup>5</sup>, who has not yet married (tā ḥāl kadkhudā'ī nashuda).

Mīrzā Khān has, however, sent his dependants to the Court, the refuge of the world, and has not the means of celebrating the occasion as he ought. He hopes that a noble order may be issued in the matter; and he will obey it.

May the curtains<sup>6</sup> of the Caliphate remain affixed to the tent-ropes (aṭnāb) of perpetuity!

1. This and the next paragraph are, in the text, a longish agarche... lekin sentence. Chaudhurī mistakenly begins with agar.

2. I.O. has an odd error: Aḥmadu'l Mulk.

3. Shāyista Khān was then governor of Mālwa.

4. Nadwī has Marzā Khān, a scribe's mistake. For notes on Mīrzā Khān, son of Mīrzā Irij Shāh Nawāz Khān (1586-1619) see Letters 70 & 78.

5. see separate sheet for this note.

6. for the not uncommon sarādiqāt, Chaudhurī has sar-i-aḡqāt!

NOTE to page 2 of LETTER 102

Mirzā Shujā' Najābat Khān's descent was:

Mirzā Sulāimān

Mirzā Ibrāhīm

Mirzā Shāh Rukh

Mirzā Shujā' Najābat Khān

There is a rather scrappy life in Ma'āṣiru'l Umarā, III, 821-828 (text) where it is said that he was Mirzā Shāh Rukh's third son. Irvine follows this in his note to Manucci, Storia, II, 24, and others in their turn: e.g., Dr. I. A. Ghaūrī, War of Succession, 21. But Jahāngīr, who ought have known, enumerates four sons acknowledged by Shāh Rukh before he died as Subahdār of Mālwa in September 1606: Hasan and Husain (twins), Mirzā Sultān, and Mirzā Badī'u'z-zamān (Tuzuk, trans. by Rogers and Beveridge, I, 119-120). But at Delhi on 21 March 1607 "four boys and three girls... whom he had not mentioned to my father, were brought" (ibid, 137) Mirzā Shujā' must have been one of these, and it is possible that Shāh Nawāz Khān was also mistaken in saying that he was born "in the time of Jinnat Makānī (Jahāngīr). He received his title of Najābat Khān, and "a mansab of 2000," at Shāh Jahān's hands in 1629-30, and rose to 5000/5000.

Though India-born, Najābat Khān was contemptuous of Indians; anecdotes of his pride and bold self-confidence were current in the seventeenth century: Aḥkām-i-'Ālamgīrī, ed. and tr. Sarkār, pp. 41-42: Manucci, Storia, II, 23-24. He was with Aurangzīb in the Bijāpūr campaign, and supported him in his bid for the throne; 7000/7000 at Burhānpūr in February 1658, Khān-i-Khānān Sipāh Sālār after Dharmat; but soon Aurangzīb, displeased at his failure to support him totally, disgraced him. In 1663 he was again given service, with his old title Najābat Khān, and given the rank of 5000/4000. He was sent as governor to Mālwa later in the year, when Ja'far Khān was called to Court to be wazīr, but died at his post in 1664. (Ma'āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī (text) 42, 47, 48.)

Only four letters to Najābat Khān are preserved in the Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī. They are all short, and relate to the Bijāpūr campaign.

## APPENDIX A

## CONCORDANCE

of the letters as arranged in this collection and  
other sources

This Edition	Nadwī	Chaudhurī	British Museum ms	India Office ms
number of letter	number of letter	number of letter	folio on which the letter begins	folio on which the letter begins
1	6	1	3A	3A
2	9	3	4A	3A
3	1	2	3B	4A
4	2	5	5A	4B
5	3	4	4B	4B
6	4	6	5A	5A
7	5	7	5B	5A
8	7	8	5B	5B
9	8	9	6A	5B
10	10	11	7A	6B
11	11	12	7A	7A
12	13	10	6B	6A
13	12	17	10A	10A
14	14	13	-	7B
15	15	14	8B	8B
16	16	16	9B	9B
17	17	15	9A	9A
18	18	20	11B	11B
19	19	18	10B	10B
20	20	19	11A	11A
21	21	21	-	12A
22	22	22	12A	12A
23	23	23	12A	12B
24	24	24	13A	13A
25	25	25	14A	14A
26	26	26	15A	15A
27	27	28	17B	18B
28	28	27	15B	16B
29	29	29	18A	19A
30	30	30	19A	20A

This Edition ----- number	Nadwī ----- number	Chaudhurī ----- number	British Museum ms ----- folio	India Office ----- ms----- folio
31	31	31	20B	21B
32	32	32	21A	22B
33	33	33	21B	23A
34	34	34	22A	23B
35	35	35	22B	24A
36	36	36	23A	24B
37	37	37	24A	25B
38	38	38	24B	26A
39	39	39	25A	26B
40	40	40	25A	26B
41	41	41	25B	27A
42	42	42	25B	27A
43	43	43	26A	27B
44	44	44	26B	28A
45	45	45	27A	28B
46	46	46	27B	29A
47	47	47	28A	30A
48	48	48	28B	30B
49	49	49	29A	31A
50	50	50	30A	31B
51	51	54	31B	34A
52	52	53	31B	34A
53	53	63	37A	39B
54	54	57	33B	36A
55	55	64	37B	39B
56	56	52	31A	33A
57	57	55	33A	35A
58	58	56	33A	35A
59	59	70	40A	42B
60	60	69	39B	42A
61	61	91	51B	55A
62	62	59	35A	37A
63	63	58	34B	37A
64	64	60	35B	38A
65	65	61	36A	38A
66	66	51	30B	32B
67	67	62	36B	39B



This Edition ----- number	Nadwī ----- number	Chaudhurī ----- number	British Museum ms ----- folio	India Office ms ----- folio
68	68	65	38A	40B
69	69	97	54A	58A
70	71*	77	45A	47B
71	72	74	43B	46B
72	73	90	50B	54A
73	74	81	47B	50A
74	75	75	44A	47A
75	76	76	49A	52A
76	77	78	45B	48B
77	78	79	46A	55A
78	79	94	53A	56B
79	80	96	54A	57B
80	81	68	39B	41B
81	82	79	46A	49A
82	83	85	49A	52A
83	84	72	42A	44B
84	85	71	41A	43B
85	86	73	42B	45A
86	87	82	48A	51A
87	88	83	48A	51A
88	89	66	38B	41A
89	90	88	50A	53A
90	91	80	46B	49B
91	92	76	44B	47A
92	93	95	53B	57A
93	94	67	41A	41B
94	95	98	55A	59A
95	96	99	55B	59B
96	97	100	56A	60A
97	98	101	56B	61A
98	99	103	57B	62A
99	100	104	58B	62B
100	101	114	60A	64B
101	102	115	60B	65A
102	103	86	49B	52B

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\* Nadwi's 70th letter is actually from Md. Sultān, soliciting a call to Court. See Ch. no.102; B.M. fo. 57B; I.O. fo.62.

Chronology of the Letters

Number in this edition -----	Page -----	Date of writing -----	Place of writing -----	Means of establishing date -----
1	1	July, 1650	Multān	does not refer to any previous letter
2	4	before 7 Dec. 1650	Multān	inference from subject-matter
3	7	on or after 7 Dec. 1650	outside Multān	see p.7, ad fin.
4	11	on or after 19 Dec. 1650	Harappa	acknowledges a <u>farmān</u> received there on 19 Dec. 1650
5	14	probably 26 Dec. 1650	one stage south-east of Lahore	acknowledges the gift of a <u>khilat</u> on Christmas Day, 1650
6	17	on or after 6 March 1651	Sirhind or its environs	reports visit to Imperial gardens in Sirhind on 6 March 1651
7	20	on or after 22 March 1651	Sadhardālu or near it	acknowledges receipt there of <u>farmān</u> on 22 March 1651
8	22	on or after 8 August 1651	Multān	acknowledges <u>farmān</u> received on 8 August 1651
9	24	late August, 1651	Multān	acknowledges another <u>farmān</u> (no date)
10	27	early September, 1651	Multān	acknowledges <u>farmān</u> in reply to Letter 8
11	30	on or after 2 January 1652	Multān	acknowledges a <u>farmān</u> received on that date
12	34	on or after 14 Feb., 1652	Multān	acknowledges receipt of a <u>farmān</u> on 14 Feb. 1652
13	37	on or after 31 Jan., 1652	Multān	acknowledges receipt of <u>farmān</u> and rings on that date
14	42	on or after 18 Feb., 1652	Multān	acknowledges a <u>farmān</u> received on that date

Number in this edition -----	Page -----	Date of writing -----	Place of writing -----	Means of establishing date -----
15	44 bis	late Feb. or early March 1652	still in Multān?	acknowledges <u>farman</u> and further gifts (no date)
16	49	on or after 26 Feb., 1652	in camp outside Multān	acknowledges two <u>farmans</u>
17	52	on or after 8 March 1652	in camp outside Multān	acknowledges <u>farmān</u> and <u>kalgī</u> on 7 March, further gifts on 8th
18	55	on or after 17 March 1652	in camp outside Multān	acknowledges <u>manshūr</u> received on 17 March
19	57	on or after 25 March 1652	on the left bank of the Chenāb	acknowledges <u>farmān</u> received on that day
20	60	probably 30 March 1652	on the right bank of the Chenāb	reports crossing on 30 March
21	62	probably 5 April 1652	on the right bank of the Indus	reports crossing on 5 April
22	64	16 April 1652	Chacha	announces arrival that day
23	66	23 April 1652	Dukī	see p.67, para 1
24	70	7 May 1652	western end of Panj Mandrak pass	see p.74, para 3
25	76	evening of 12 May 1652 (probably)	outside Qandahār	acknowledges two <u>manshūrs</u> received on arrival that day
26	83	28 May 1652	outside Qandahār	dated by Aurangzīb, p.83
27	90	evening (probably) of 5 June 1652	"	reports explosion in fort at about 8 am that day
28	94	evening 18 June 1652	"	reports capture of enemy mail that evening, during engrossment of this letter
29	102	24 June, 1652	"	dated by Aurangzīb p.103
30	107	on or after 1 July, 1652	"	acknowledges two <u>yarlighs</u> on 28 June, and two more on 1 July.

Number in this <u>edition</u>	Page -----	Date of writing -----	Place of writing -----	Means of estab- lishing date -----
31	118	on or after 6 July, 1652	"	acknowledges <u>manshūr</u> received on that date
32	121	on or after 13 July, 1652	"	acknowledges <u>manshūr</u> received on that date.
33	124	evening (perhaps) of 17 July 1652	on the road to <u>Ghaznī</u>	acknowledges <u>manshūr</u> received on 17 July
34	126	on or after 21 July, 1652	"	acknowledges <u>farmāns</u> received on 20 and 21 July
35	130	on or after 26 July, 1652	"	acknowledges <u>manshūr</u> received on that date
36	133	on or after 1 August 1652	in or near <u>Ghaznī</u> (p.138, para. 4)	acknowledges two <u>yarlīghs</u> received on 1 August
37	140	on or after 4 August, 1652	on the march from <u>Ghaznī</u> to Kābul, two days' journey from Kābul	acknowledges a <u>farmān</u> received on 4 August
38	145	on or about 5 September, 1652	near Nowshera	implication of text
39	148	on or about 7 September 1652	near Nowshera (? same encampment)	acknowledges <u>manshūr</u> received on 7 September
40	151	on or after 4 October 1652	on the high road in the Jech Doāb	inference from text and imperfectly dated acknowledgement of a <u>farmān</u>
41	154	probably 8 October 1652	near the right bank of the Chenāb, opposite Wazīrābād	acknowledges <u>manshūr</u> delivered on "Monday".
42	156	11 October 1652	at the crossing	inference from text



Number in this edition -----	Page -----	Date of writing -----	Place of writing -----	Means of estab- lishing date -----
43	159	on or after 12 November, 1652	south of Lahore (near Ludhiāna?)	imperfectly dated acknowledgement of a <u>manshūr</u>
44	162	2 December, 1652	Akbarpūr (? the present Chhāta?)	dated by Aurangzīb (p.169)
45	171	9 December, 1652	"the purlieus of Dholpūr"	dated by Aurangzīb, p.175
46	177	28 December, 1652	near Narwar	dated by Aurangzīb, p.180; cf. acknow- ledgement of a <u>manshūr</u> received on Wed., 24 Dec., 1652
47	181	11 January, 1653	the northern bank of the Nerbudda	acknowledges a <u>farmān</u> received on 3 Jan., 1653; and dated by Aurangzīb, p.183
48	184	about 15 January, 1653	close to the Nerbudda (? southern bank?)	not exactly dated
49	187	on or after 2 March 1653	Burhānpūr	acknowledges <u>farmān</u> of that date
50	191	20 April 1653 (probably)	Burhānpūr	reports audience given that day to Bījāpūr and Golconda ambassadors
51	196	on or after 10 April 1653	Burhānpūr	acknowledges two <u>farmāns</u> received on 8 and 10 April
52	200	on or after 14 May 1653	Burhānpūr	acknowledges a <u>manshūr</u> received on that date
53	204	May-June 1653	"	undated
54	206	on or after 11 July 1653	"	acknowledges a <u>farmān</u> received on that date
55	209	between July and October, 1653	"	undated

Number in this edition	Page	Date of writing	Place of writing	Means of estab- lishing date
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
56	213	middle or late October 1653	"	speaks of post- poning march from 31 October to 8 November
57	215	on or after 6 December 1653	Daulatābād	reports entry on 6 Dec, 1653
58	217	some time in 1654	" (presumably)	undated
59	220	some time in 1654 (perhaps early 1655?)	Daulatābād or Aurangābād	reference to <u>rabi'</u> crop of <u>qū'i īl</u> (8th of cycle)
60	224	some time in 1654	"	undated
61	227	last days of 1654	"	acknowledges <u>manshūr</u> <u>describing</u> Imperial visit to <u>Āgra</u>
62	228	some time in 1654	"	reference to Murād's appoint- ment to Gujarāt as <u>ṣūbahdār</u>
63	231	early in 1654	"	reference to <u>rabi'</u> season of <u>yūnt īl</u> (7th of cycle)
64	235	1654 - after Letter 63	"	reply to a proposal in Letter 63 acknowledged (Rao Karan to Ellichpūr)
65	238	during 1654	"	not dated, but perhaps early: submission on <u>dāgh</u>
66	242	early in 1654	"	see <u>Siyāha Ḥuẓūr</u> (call no. 3896) dated 11 January 1654 on <u>Ūzbek</u> <u>Khān's</u> audience & offerings - State Archives, Hyderabad
67	246	early in 1654 (probably)	"	first mention of Mīr Jumla's overtures
68	249	during 1654 (latter part)	"	reference to recent reduction in <u>jama'</u>
69	252	October, 1654	"	Muḥammad Sultān being sent to Court on 24 October

Number in this edition -----	Page -----	Date of writing -----	Place of writing -----	Means of estab- lishing date -----
70	258	during 1654	Daulatābād or Aurangābād	apparent reply to request in Letter 66 ( <u>Kh. Barkhurdār</u> )
71	263	about September 1654	"	acknowledges reply to Letter 65, and action to be taken from the autumn equinox of 1654
72	266	end of 1654	"	Aurangzīb's remonstrances against criticism
73	271	end of 1654	"	doubts of Mīr Jumla's intent- ions expressed
74	274	early 1655	"	forwards papers relating to Mīr Jumla's <u>manṣab</u> (but cf Letter 87)
75	277	early 1655	"	acknowledges gift brought by Md. Sultān returning from Court
76	280	early 1655	"	Aurangzīb acknowledges action on Letter 72
77	283	during 1655 (? about July?)	Daulatabad (probably)	reference to failure of rains, and consequently of <u>kharīf</u> crop
78	288	about October, 1655	"	references in n.1, p.290
79	291	November- December, 1655	"	Deogarh campaign concluded
80	293	about December, 1655	"	an elephant- hunt ordered
81	296	about December, 1655	"	Emperor's appetite for elephants; Jawār campaign proposed
82	299	Dec, 1655 - Jan, 1656	"	acknowledges pro- motion for Hādīdād <u>Khān</u> in Letter 80

Number in this edition	Page	Date of writing	Place of writing	Means of estab- lishing date
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
83	301	late 1653 or early 1654?	Daulatābād (probably)	first overture of Śrī Ranga Rāyal
84	305	early 1654?	"	acknowledges Emperor's reaction
85	308	early 1654?	"	Emperor's second thoughts; marriage plans for Māl. Sultān (cf Letter 69) and agreement with Shujā'
86	313	early 1655	"	Mīr Jumla called to Court
87	315	March or April, 1655	"	Mīr Jumla hot and cold (perhaps a sequel to Letter 75)
88	318	2 August 1655	"	see introductory note; day of week only given by Aurangzīb
89	320	September- October, 1655	"	not dated; but cf. notes of Jagadīsh Sarkar, Mir Jumla, 73-74
90	321	early 1656?	"	undated, but acknowledges apparent reply to Letter 81
91	324	late 1655 (before October?)	"	undated
92	326	August- September 1655	"	tribute elephants to be sent to Court about 21 September
93	329	before the rains of 1655	"	see notes to Letter
94	330	early December 1655	"	Arrest of Muḥammad Amīn
95	333	on or after 28 December 1655	" (or Aurangābād)	acknowledges farmān delivered on that day
96	336	on or after 5 January 1656	Daulatābād?	Muḥammad Sultān sent against Golconda on that date; cf. Letter 97



Number in this edition -----	Page -----	Date of writing -----	Place of writing -----	Means of estab- lishing date -----
97	339	between 17 January and 20 January, 1656	probably outside Aurangābād	internal evidence
98	343	after 20 January, 1656	perhaps in Daulatābād	refers to letter (not preserved) sent that evening
99	345	on or after 30 January 1656	outside Daulatābād	reports departure thence on that day
100	349	4 February, 1656	Four days' march out of Aurangābād	dated by Aurangzīb
101	351	probably some days after 6 February, 1656	six days' out of Aurangābād	acknowledgement of letters received
102	356	January or February, 1656	uncertain	acknowledges promotion of Multafit Khān (Letter 96)

# NOTE ON DATES

Three eras were in common use in the Mughul empire; the Muslim lunar calendar, the Persian solar calendar linked to the years of the Emperor's reign and still known by the name Ilahī, given it by Akbar when he introduced it for official use, and the ancient Turko-Mongol duodenary cycle.

Aurangzīb preferred the Muslim calendar, and when Emperor did all he could to propagate it, ignoring its inconvenience in an administration based not upon the motions of the moon, but on the regular succession of the seasons. He almost always gives a Muslim date; occasionally an Ilahī date, very rarely an Ilahī date alone; and uses the Turkish cycle in isolation to mark off the agricultural year.

The years 1060 to 1066 cover the span of these letters. The usual Mughul practice in using the Muslim calendar was to give the day of the week, the date, the month, but not the year; that was referred to the regnal year of the Emperor, but Aurangzīb in writing to his father omits both the year of the reign and the year of the Hijra. In converting his dates to Christian dates I have relied upon the Tables of Wüstenfeld and Mahler. Ilahī dates have been used as corroborative evidence only.

Until he reaches the Deccan, the days and dates given by Aurangzīb synchronise perfectly with the tables. In the Deccan, however, he is sometimes one day ahead, (Letter 54) and sometimes one day behind (Letter 88). As these discrepancies can often arise because of the different times at which the new moon of a month may be observed, I have preferred to adhere to the tables, based as they are upon uniform astronomical calculations.

Similarly I have followed the tables in adhering to the New Style. Most authorities who have written in English have used the Old Style because it was still prevalent in England, and used perforce by Englishmen operating in India. Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār's considered decision to continue with it has been automatically followed by those who came after. But it is now time to change; English is no longer the only, though still the leading, language

of Mughul scholarship; all the other nations trading to India had adopted the New Style long before the rise of Aurangzīb; for the sake of uniformity in historical writing, it seems better to restrict the Old Style to a specifically English environment.

The Ilahī calendar is the same, basically, as that revived and reformed in Persia in 1925, and in use in Afghānistān with the Arabic zodiacal names of the months; the year begins with Farwardīn at the vernal equinox, that is on the 20, 21, or 22 March. As the modern authorised form of the calendar<sup>1</sup> varies from the older form with intercalary days, I consulted Dr G.P. Taylor's calculations.<sup>2</sup>

The Ilahī months are:

Farwardīn	March-April	Mihr	September-October
Urdibihisht	April-May	Ābān (or Abān)	October-November
Khurdād	May-June	Āzar	November-December
Tīr	June-July	Dī (or De)	December-January
Amardād	July-August	Bahman	January-February
Shahrīwar	August-September	Isfandārmuz (or Isfandār, or Isfand)	February-March

The Turko-Mongol cycle is a relation of the sexagenary cycle of China; beginning in the spring of each year, (and thus coinciding with the Iranian nauroz) it names each year after an animal. The totemic origin of this calendar cannot have escaped the Mughuls, but their orthodoxy did not suppress the calendar, which flourished until the Empire and its administration fell to pieces in the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Lambton, Grammar, 255; cf Phillott, 207.

2. Whitehead, Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum (vol. II) appendix B.

3. In Kābul it is said to have lingered to the 1920's in popular use, and in the Afghān Hazārajāt still later: Schurmann, The Mongols of Afghānistān, 292 (where the rendering of some of the names in the mnemonic poem varies).

In these letters, the sixth and seventh years of the cycle are mentioned. The full cycle is:

Sīchqān īl	year of the mouse
Ūd īl	year of the cow
Pārs īl	year of the leopard
Tawishqān īl	year of the hare
Lū'i īl	year of the crocodile
Īlān īl	year of the snake
Yūnt īl	year of the horse
Qū'i īl	year of the sheep
Bīchi īl	year of the monkey
Takhāqū'i īl	year of the fowl
Īt īl	year of the dog
Tungūz īl	year of the hog

The use of this animal calendar, while perhaps inconsonant with strict orthodoxy, was not tainted with the stain Aurangzīb appears to have seen in the Ilahī calendar introduced by his great-grandfather. Its convenience for calculating revenue periods, and many private matters like the length of agricultural leases<sup>1</sup> was obvious.

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1. See the documents in Goswamy and Grewal's *The Mughal and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori*, from Appendix B of which the above table is taken. Documents from the first (1107H/1695/6) to the 36th (1873S/1816) use the cycle. Cf their note 2 to Document 35 (p.273) and also note 97 on p.73. Further references to the duwāzda sāl-i-Turkī are in note 10 to p.82. Phillott, *Higher Persian Grammar*, 203-204 has a table with transliteration, and additional information.



## APPENDIX C

List of Letters in which the Emperor's Correspondence is  
Acknowledged, with analysis of mode of delivery

Letter in which acknow- ledged	Class of Letter	How written	By whom brought	Name	Gifts and other things
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
2	<u>farmān</u>	by <u>munshī</u> signed (mu- zaiyin) by Emperor	-	-	( <u>farmān</u> addressed to Isma'il Haut)
4	<u>farmān</u>	-	-		astrological calculations & charts
5	none mentioned	-	-	-	<u>khil'at-i-</u> <u>khassa-i-</u> <u>zamestānī</u>
7	<u>farmān</u>	by Emperor (qalam-i- khujisha raqam)	-	-	-
8	<u>farmān</u>	-	<u>qarāwal</u>	Imām Qulī	<u>khil'at-</u> <u>i-khassa</u> & road maps
9	<u>farmān</u>	-	-	-	-
10	<u>farmān</u>	-	-	-	-
11	<u>farmān</u>	signed by Emperor	<u>chela</u>	Tahmurās	-
12	<u>manshūr</u>	-	<u>chela</u>	<u>Khusrau</u>	two rosaries & two armlets
13	<u>farmān</u>	written in secretariat?	<u>chela</u>	Farīdūn	four rings
14	<u>farmān</u>	-	<u>yasāwal-</u> <u>i-sarkār-</u> <u>i'alā</u>	-	emerald & pearl <u>sarped</u>
15	<u>farmān</u>	-	-	-	incense- dust etc.
16	<u>farmān</u>	-	<u>jalaudārs</u>		-
	<u>farmān</u>	-	[ <u>yasawal</u> ]	Muḥammad Sharīf (cf. Letters 29&95)	-

Letter in which acknow- ledged	Class of Letter	How written	By whom brought	Name	Gifts and other things
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
17	<u>farmān</u>	-	<u>gurz-</u> <u>burdār?</u>	Muḥammad Mīrak (see Letter 98)	diamond <u>kalgī</u>
	none mentioned	-	-	Muhammad Safi	robe, perfume, elephant & two horses
18	<u>manshūr</u>	by Emperor	two <u>yasāwals</u>	-	-
19	<u>farmān</u>	-	<u>jalaudārs</u>	-	-
20	<u>manshūr</u>	-	<u>jalaudārs</u>	-	-
23	<u>farmān</u>	perhaps by Emperor	-	-	(this letter arrived three weeks late)
25	<u>manshūr</u>	-	<u>wazīr</u>	Sa'du' llāh <u>Khān</u>	(this letter announced Aurangzīb's promotion)
	<u>manshūr</u>	-	<u>yasawals</u>	-	Rs 5,00,000 as <u>musā'ida</u>
26	<u>farmān</u>	-	Aurangzib's <u>qāšids</u>	-	-
28	<u>manshūr</u>	-	<u>yasāwal</u>	Sāqī Beg	-
	<u>farmān</u>	-	<u>gurzburdār</u>	Jaushan Beg	-
29	<u>manshūr</u>	-	<u>yasāwals</u>	Muḥammad Sharīf & Rustam (cf Letters 16&95)	-
30	<u>yarlīgh</u> (four in all)	-	<u>yasāwals</u>	-	-
31	<u>manshūr</u>	-	-	-	-
32	<u>manshūr</u>	by Emperor	<u>yasāwals</u>	-	-

Letter in which acknow- ledged	Class of Letter	How written	By whom brought	Name	Gifts and other things
33	<u>manshūr</u>	-	<u>yasāwals</u>	Abū Tālib & Aḥmad	-
34	two <u>farmāns</u>	-	<u>yasāwals</u>	-	-
35	<u>manshūr</u>	-	<u>yasāwal</u>	Amīr Beg	-
36	two <u>yarlīghs</u>	-	<u>chelas</u>	-	-
37	<u>farmān</u>	-	-	-	-
39	<u>manshūr</u>	-	-	-	-
40	<u>farmān</u>	-	-	-	-
41	<u>manshūr</u>	-	-	-	gift of deer killed
42	<u>manshūr</u>	-	-	Brindāban	-
43	<u>manshūr</u>	-	-	Faṭḥu'llāh	-
46	-	by Emperor	-	-	-
47	<u>yarlīgh</u>	-	-	-	-
48	<u>manshūr</u>	signed (muzaiyin) by Emperor	-	-	-
49	<u>farmān</u>	<u>munshī</u>	-	-	-
51		Emperor <u>munshī</u>	-	-	-
52	<u>manshūr</u>	-	<u>yasāwal</u>	Fāzil	-
54	<u>farmān</u>	-	-	'Alī Rizā'	<u>khil'at- i-sar-o-pā</u>
55	<u>manshūr</u>	signed by Emperor	-	-	-
	<u>manshūr</u>	written by Emperor	-	-	<u>khil'at-i- sar-o-pā</u>
56	two <u>manshūrs</u>	-	-	-	-
58	two <u>manshūrs</u>	-	-	-	-

Letter in which acknow- ledged	Class of Letter	How written	By whom brought	Name	Gifts and other things
59	<u>three manshūrs</u>	last signed by Emperor	-	-	-
60	<u>farmān</u>	signed (perhaps written) by the Emperor	-	-	-
61	<u>manshūr</u>	signed (muzaiyin) by the Emperor	-	-	-
62	<u>manshūr</u>	Emperor	-	-	-
63	<u>two farmans</u>	signed (muzaiyin) by the Emperor	-	-	-
64	<u>manshūr</u>	signed by the Emperor	-	-	-
69	<u>two manshūrs</u>	one signed, one written by Emperor	-	-	-
70	<u>manshūr</u>	signed by Emperor	-	-	-
72	<u>two farmāns</u>	signed (muzaiyin wa muhalla) by Emperor	-	-	-
73	<u>manshūr</u>	Emperor	-	-	-
74	<u>farmān</u>	-	-	-	<u>khil'at- i-khāssa</u>
75	<u>farmān</u>	secretariat	-	-	-
76	<u>farmān</u>	secretariat	-	-	-
77	<u>manshūr</u>	secretariat with <u>dibācha</u> in Emperor's hand.	-	-	-
78	<u>two manshūrs</u>	one by Emperor one by secretaries	-	-	-
79	<u>manshūr</u>	in secretariat	-	-	-



Letter in which acknow- ledged	Class of Letter	How written	By whom brought	Name	Gifts and other things
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
80	<u>farmān</u>	Emperor	-	-	-
81	<u>manshūr</u>	Emperor	-	-	-
82	<u>farmān</u>	in secretariat	-	-	-
84	<u>manshūr</u>	signed (muzaiyin) by Emperor	-	-	-
85	two <u>manshūrs</u>	both by Emperor	-	-	-
86	<u>manshūr</u>	Emperor	-	-	-
87	special greetings (tabarrukāt- i-khāṣ)	-	a son of 'Arab Khān	?Mīrzā 'Alī 'Arab, later Qila'dār Khān?	100 lengths of <u>dū dāmī</u> cloth
88	<u>manshūr</u>	Emperor	-	-	-
90	<u>farmān</u>	signed by the Emperor	-	-	-
91	<u>manshūr</u>	Emperor	-	-	-
92	<u>farmān</u>	in Secretariat?	-	-	-
94	<u>manshūr</u>	Emperor	-	-	-
95	<u>manshūr</u>	Emperor	<u>yasāwal</u>	Muḥammad Sharīf (cf. Letters 16&95)	-
97	two <u>manshūrs</u>	both by the Emperor	-	-	copy of a <u>farmān</u> sent to Qutbu'l Mulk
98	<u>manshūr</u>  <u>manshūr</u>	both perhaps by Emperor	<u>yasāwal</u>  <u>gurzburdār</u>	Muḥammad Murad Muḥammad Mīrak (see Letter 17)	
100	<u>manshūr</u>	in Secretariat by Emperor	- -	Qāzī 'Arif	copy <u>farmāns</u> & <u>khil'at</u>
102	<u>farmān</u>	in Secretariat	-	-	-

A farmān was (next to the 'ahd-nāma or treaty, a rare instrument) the most formal kind of communication in the Mughul empire. It bore the seal of the Emperor, which was impressed in the haram where it was in the keeping of the senior lady of the Court<sup>1</sup>; perhaps as a mark of special favour and solemnity, an impression representing the Emperor's outspread right hand (panja) would be added. The wazir's seal was also affixed. If the Emperor wished to add a few words in his own hand, he would place them at the top of the instrument.

A nishān was in effect a farmān of a prince; a letter from a prince to his inferior, whether a subject, or a foreign ruler<sup>2</sup>.

A manshūr was a farmān without the imperial seal. The term is generally but not always used for the letters Shāh Jahān wrote to Aurangzīb himself. For a subject to receive a letter in the monarch's hand was a great honour; the higher a man's rank, the more likely he was to receive such attention. The frequency of such communications was a measure of a noble's favour at Court. While out of favour in the Deccan (from his complaints about the system of assessment and his own sufferings under it at the beginning of 1654, to the Deogarh campaign at the end of 1655,) Aurangzīb appears to have received no letters written by his father, and only a single trifling gift.<sup>3</sup>

A yarligh seems not to have been a term of art, but rather a loose term for a short and relatively informal letter embodying an order from the Emperor. The word is of Mongol origin. Clearly a yarligh was a solemn declaration of the ruler's will in Mongol times, and Boyle is right to homologate

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1. Akbar's great seal, the Uzak, was in his ladies' charge; Ibn Ḥasan, Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, 100; cf. remarks in Rizvī and Flynn, Fathpūr-Sikrī, 47. Aurangzīb entrusted it first to Roshanārā, and after she joined his Court in 1666 to Jahānārā, who had guarded it from her mother's death in 1631 until Shāh Jahān's imprisonment. Each Emperor made a new seal, with his name in the middle, and his ancestors' names around it.

2. Aurangzīb sent a nishān to Isma'īl Haut (Letter 2) but he calls a nishān from Dārā simply nawishta. His communications with Qutbu'l Mulk were also nishāns (Letter 95) and so were those to the Mughul ambassador at Golconda (Letters 96 and 97)

3. see Appendix C.

it with a firman.<sup>1</sup>

A hasbu'l hukm was the usual means of conveying the Emperor's wish to an official, or a subject; and "letter by order" exactly describes it. The wazīr, or a lesser officer, wrote it to embody commands given orally by the Emperor, usually in open Court. The hasbu'l hukm Aurangzīb acknowledges in Letter 52 would have been felt deeply, as a sharp rebuke.

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1. History of the World-Conqueror, XVII. A yarlīgh was Chingiz Khan's means of recording his achievements, 145; yarlighs were read out in solemn assembly, *ibid*, 255, 491. The word yasāwal may well mean "one who enforces the king's yasa," the custom, or law, upheld by the ruler.

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## ERRORS AND CORRECTIONS

Letter	Page	Place	
	xvi	3rd from end	read "by" for "from"
	xvii	note 4	add at the end: "Chaudhurī may have been led into error by the Urdū version of M.A. put out by Md. Fidā' 'Alī Tālib, which states that Mu'azzam was born on 30 Rajab 1050/15 November 1640, not 30 Rajab 1053/14 October 1643 (p.428); and places Akbar's birth on 12 Zi Hijja 1062/15 November 1652 (p.430). Similar mistakes abound.
	xxxvi	note 5 line 9	read Ahkām for "Ahkam".
2	6	note 1 line 2	read <u>manṣabdār</u> not <u>manṣabdar</u>
5	14	note 1	Add at end: Nadwī appears to read Alchera. Cf note 3 to Letter 7.
5	16	note 16	read uftāda for uftada.
6	17	note 1 note 3	read Shattarī for Shattarī read Umarā for Umara and Ma'āsir for Ma'asir.
8	22	note 1	Add: "Chaudhuri dates this letter Wednesday 2 Sha'ban. 2 Sha'ban 1061 fell on Friday, 21 July, 1651."
9	24	introduction, last line	A life of Muḡhul Khan Īrānī is in M.U. III, 490-492.
9	26	line 18	read <u>murīd</u> not <u>murid</u>
11	31	note 2	read wāqi'a for waqi'a.
16	49	note 1	add at the end: "Chaudhurī has an error: Isfandārnuz".
20	60	note 3	add at end: "Chaudhurī reads Mīr Muḡammad Māzanderānī, a manifest error."
22	64	note 1	add at the end: "For Chacha, Chaudhurī reads Chaja".
24	72	note 5	underline <u>raqam</u> and <u>manshūr</u>
28	101	notes	add the following note 1, renumbering the other three:

"This Shujā'at Khān appears to have been a son of Najābat Khān, a Timurid (see note to Letter 102) A little younger than Aurangzīb, he appears to have survived him (M.A., 512) His long and strange career, and his succession to the titles Khān-i-'Ālam, Ghairat Khān, and Khān-i-'Ālam again, are inadequately summarised in M.U., II 869-872. Manucci's story of his being walled up to die a disgusting death after Akbar's

Letter      Page      Place

(contd.)

rebellion in 1681 must be false (Storia, II, 250); but he appears to have been in disgrace after Deorai, and again throughout the 1660's. He may well have remained in prison from 1681 to 1696: M.A., 205 (confinement). His name was Muḥammad Ibrāhīm; he should not be confounded with the energetic ṣūbahdār of Gujarāt, Shujā'at Khān Muḥammad Beg (d. 1701; M.U. II, 706-708.)"

35	130	line 3 of text	make a note 1 after Amīr Beg: Confusing bīstum with hashtum, Ch. dates this letter 8 Sha'ban/Sunday 14 July 1652. He must be wrong; see Letters 33 and 34.
39	149	note 3	for Afghans read Afghans.
40	152	note 1, last word	for Āvadh read Avadh (Oude).
42	157	note 1	add at end: The mss. render Brindāban's name as Bindrāban.
44	163	note 4, ad fin.	Read Bahā'u'd-dīn.
45	174	note 1	supply a full stop after tahkari, where first occurring.
49	190	note 1	delete block letters in Sauda.
50	191	first line of text	read Jumāda I.
	193	note 4	add at end: Ziā'u'd-dīn Husain was made Himmat Khān, and then Islām Khān after Dharmat: I.O., 310A.
51	199	fourth paragraph	read <u>qibla</u> and <u>ka'ba</u> .
52	201	third paragraph	read <u>qibla</u> .
56	213	last word	read <u>murīds</u> not " <u>murids</u> "
57	215	note 1	read Aurangzīb.
63	231	introduction line 7	read Ellichpūr not Elichpūr.
		beginning of text	make a note: "Chaudhurī omits du in the phrase ba warūd-i-dū farmān-i-khujista 'anwān.
70	261	second paragraph	read <u>qibla</u> and <u>ka'ba</u> .
73	272	second paragraph	read Muḥammad Shāh.
76	281	first line	read <u>qibla</u> .
80	295	note 1	add to end of last paragraph "In a note on Baharjī, the title borne by each of these rulers, the author of M.U. mentions the inaccessibility of the tract, and says nothing about Rao Karan's incursion."
81	297	fourth paragraph	read <u>qibla</u> and <u>ka'ba</u> .
87	315	first paragraph	read <u>qibla</u>

Letter	Page	Place	
87	315	after "is an experienced officer"	add a note 3 : "Chaudhurī by mistake has banda-i-kārāmad nīst. His ms' rendering of kārāmadī ast might have misled him."
87	316	seventh line	substitute twenty-nine for 29.
90	322	sixteenth line	read <u>qibla</u> and <u>ka'ba</u> .
94	330	introduction, line 2	read <u>khānazāds</u> not " <u>khānazads</u> ".
95	334	para. 3 line 5	read Rāja for Rājah.
	335	para. 2 line 1	read <u>ka'ba</u> for <u>ka'bah</u> .
96	338	note 4	underline <u>ta'lūq</u> .
97	342	first line	read preceptor for "perceptor"
98	344	para. 4	read <u>qibla</u> and <u>ka'ba</u>
	345	note 5	read Diler <u>Khān</u>
		penultimate para.	should read : "Śivā the son of Śāhū Bhonsle is in his own territories, making forays ... against (our) adjoining district of Juner."

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